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East Europe Report



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11 MARCH 1987

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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BACK COPIES OF MOSCOW PRAVDA SOLD ON BLACK MARKET

AU281109 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jan 87 p 2

[Peter Bulak feuilleton: "Clean Business"]

[Text] An editorial office does not usually publish its editors' sales offers. However, in the present instance I won publishing space literally by fighting for it. I have been hearing for some time that certain copies of the Soviet PRAVDA from last year are getting good prices on the black market. (Others say that this applies to IZVESTIYA; but in my case this is unimportant.) First they said the price was Kcs100 per copy; then Kcs300; and recently a copy allegedly went for Kcs500. The reason, they claim, is that the copies (I do not yet know which ones) contain piquant articles by the most inside insiders, specifically and concretely about our country.

I receive the central Soviet press regularly and have a complete set of last year's issues; so I said: Why should I not sell, since I can make a 1.25-million-percent profit? Here is what I offer: If you are interested and have a 500-koruna bill, the address is in the colophon; just let me know which issue you want and I will send it straight to your home address by return mail.

True, some "for sale" offers arouse doubts by being so generous--one can still encounter many swindles, large and small, and also many swindlers. We must therefore clearly define the rules of the sales deal. For I have had a most unpleasant experience, even if I did not directly participate in the transaction in question. However, one also learns from the mistakes of others, and this concerned a person interested in making a purchase.

Some time ago an adult came to the editorial office: A man without distinguishing features, if we disregard that he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown. He told us his story. His wife had sent him to buy a television set. On his way to the shop a stranger (later he could not even give a proper description of him) generously offered to sell him some gold coins. They agreed on the price (Kcs 500 apiece, although the coins were obviously worth at least Kcs50,000). Overjoyed, the man ran back home to tell his wife, but she found such a profitable business deal suspicious, took a file--and a few seconds later all but stabbed her husband with it in her rage. A jeweler

later confirmed that the man had bought neither gold, nor gold-plated coins, but nice, falsely "gold"-plated coppers. In despair, and in fear of his wife's file, the shaken man tearfully demanded that the editorial office call upon the press, radio, television, and security policy to find and execute the man who had lost him Kcs 4,590, making an 1,000-percent profit.

After he finished his story, I first looked to see whether he had any head at all. He had. (It was only later that I realized that even a nail has a head.) Then I cautiously enquired about being intoxicated--he swore he was not, saying that he was always particularly careful about money when drunk. He even showed me the zipper on the inside pocket of his jacket. Then I asked (as cautiously) about some mental disease in the family--none, he said. There could only be one explanation: His gray cells had been temporarily incapacitated by a sudden attack of greed. What help or advice can you give in such a case? He was left unadvised and unassisted, but with his coppers, his shame, and his silliness.

Therefore: Be careful! If a sophisticated rumor falls on a fertile head, it can eliminate its gray cells far more efficiently than any greed could. That is why I want to repeat the terms of our sales deal, as part of a clean game: For Kcs500 I will send you any of the last year's copies of the newspaper in question--any that you want; I have them all. But this is also all that I guarantee to do. As my friend Paul says, it is your affair whether you find in it the "golden treasure" that you are looking for. After all, what you regard as a treasure, can be an everyday matter for me; everything depends on how you see it. However, in order to keep the game really clean, you might even go and look at your treasure in one of the large public libraries. But after that, no complaints, no discussion! And no files!

Actually, should there be no takers for Kcs5000, I might even go down to Kcs50. But I tell you outright: I simply refuse to go lower than Kcs4 per copy! You see, I never do business for less than a 10,000-percent profit. After all, why should I be worse than some coin dealer?

/6662

CSO: 2400/139

BRIEFS

CONSULAR TREATY WITH ALGERIA--Ratification documents on the consular treaty between Czechoslovakia and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria were exchanged in Prague today. For the Czechoslovak side, the protocol on the exchange was signed by Dusan Ulcak, deputy minister of foreign affairs [title as heard]. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 19 Jan 87 LD] /6662

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH CUBA--The 17th session of the subcommission for scientific-technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Cuba ended in Prague today with the signing of a protocol. The two sides agreed on scientific-technological cooperation in the years 1987-1988 and the main goals up to 1990. The cooperation will be in power engineering, geology and ore mining, engineering, chemical and consumer industries, and other spheres. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 18 Jan 87 LD] /6662

PRAVDA EDITOR HONORED--In the Soviet Union today the Supreme Soviet awarded the Order of Friendship Among Peoples to Bohus Travnicek, member of the secretariat of the CPSL Central Committee and editor in chief of the Bratislava PRAVDA. The decree, signed by Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the Soviet parliament, says that this distinction has been awarded to Bohus Travnicek for his great contribution to the development and strengthening of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ and the people of the two countries, and in connection with his 60th birthday. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 19 Jan 87 LD] In Bratislava today Comrade Jozef Lenart presented Bohus Travnicek the Order of the Republic, bestowed on him by the president of the republic on his 60th birthday. A letter of congratulations from Comrade Gustav Husak praises the activities of Bohus Travnicek in the office of editor in chief of the CPSL Central Committee daily PRAVDA toward the implementation of the program of socialist construction in our homeland. [Summary] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Jan 87 LD] /6662

TRUCK EXPORTS GROW--Prague Jan 19 (CTK)--Lorries are a traditional item in Czechoslovakia's engineering export. Last year alone the Motokov Foreign Trade Corporation exported more than 28,000 lorries. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1981-85) the export of Czechoslovak lorries, especially to the socialist countries, grew by 30 per cent, and it is expected to grow further till 1990. A quicker growth of exports to the capitalist countries is also

being planned. Since the foundation of Motokov in 1951 Czechoslovakia has exported over 500,000 Tatra, Liaz and Avia lorries to more than 50 countries. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan the Motokov Foreign Trade Enterprise exported some 50,000 Tatra lorries. The majority of Tatra lorries are being exported to the Soviet Union, 5,432 of them last year. A greater number of the lorries were exported last year to Poland (638) and to China (1,410), than to the GDR, Hungary and Romania. More than 300 lorries were exported by Motokov to Western Europe--West Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, France, Austria and Greece. [Excerpts] [Prague CTK in English 0850 GMT 19 Jan 87 LD] /6662

FRG COOPERATION VISIT--Prague Jan 21 (CTK)--The results of the visit to Czechoslovakia give cooperation between the FRG-Czechoslovakia society and the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations Committee for the FRG firm framework, John Van Nes Ziegler, chairman of the FRG-Czechoslovakia Society told CTK today at the end of a visit by a delegation which he headed. John Van Nes Ziegler said that "our activity will help implement the 1973 treaty between Czechoslovakia and the FRG, especially in spheres in which contacts at the level of state bodies have not yet been developed.... We also held talks on ways in which we can help develop trade and contacts in art, education, science, and technology, tourism, sport and protection of the living environment." The West German delegation came to Czechoslovakia on January 18 at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations and left for home today. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 21 Jan 87 LD] /6662

CEMA COMPACT DISCS--Prague Jan 21 (CTK)--Czechoslovakia, planning to start the production of compact discs in 1988, will become the first member country of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) to produce the advanced digital records. With the annual production expected to reach 3.6 million discs, the "Supraphon" state record company, which is to have the monopoly on the production, plans to export the records to Czechoslovakia's CEMA partners as well as to help meet growing demand for the discs in Western countries. Supraphon, so far collaborating with Japanese and West German firms in the production of its recordings on compact discs, also plans to intensify its cooperation with the Soviet record company "Melodiya". Supraphon is to supply the Soviet firm with its compact discs until their production begins in the Soviet Union. [Excerpts] [Prague CTK in English 1117 GMT 21 Jan 87 LD] /6662

/6662

CSO: 2400/139

MIKROMED, FIRST JOINT ENTERPRISE WITH SOVIETS, FOUNDED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 87 p 5

[Joint report by Vladimir Gerasimov, the Budapest correspondent of PRAVDA, and Peter Dunai, the Moscow correspondent of NEPSZABADSAG; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] At the end of last year, an agreement was signed in Moscow on founding Mikromed, the first Hungarian-Soviet joint enterprise. Its founders are Hungary's Medicor, and the Soviet Union's All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Medical Instrument Building. Vladimir Gerasimov and Peter Dunai, PRAVDA's Budapest correspondent and NEPSZABADSAG's Moscow correspondent respectively, have filed this joint report. (The report is appearing simultaneously in PRAVDA and in our paper.)

Budapest: First Step

Without any red-carpet-rolling and official ribbon-cutting, preferring instead to concentrate only on its work and economic efficiency, the first Hungarian-Soviet joint enterprise has begun its operation.

"We ourselves will have to earn the money to finance development, the opening of new plants. We cannot turn for financing to 'Comrade State,' as it is customary to say in Hungary," explains Istvan Martos, the director general of Medicor. Without any major initial investments, he believes, it will be possible to launch quickly the production of needed products that will be readily salable in the Soviet and Hungarian markets, and even in the markets of third countries. Medicor, the Hungarian founding partner, is well known in the Soviet Union. It has been exporting for decades operating-room and x-ray equipment, diagnostic instruments, and turnkey hospitals. During this time it has developed specialization, coproduction and scientific-technical collaboration with its Soviet partners. Last year, for example, the Soviet Union obtained a license to produce the MMT (Medicor Microprocessor Technology) system. This laid the foundation for the production structure of the new joint enterprise that the founders have chosen to call Mikromed.

As Istvan Martos notes with satisfaction, it is no accident that, together with our Soviet partners, we have become pioneers in developing new forms of cooperation specifically in medical technology. Medicor is bringing 3.0 million transferable rubles' worth of technology and production equipment into the joint enterprise. The Soviet partners' contribution is likewise 3.0 million transferable rubles. Thus the capital stock is 6.0 million transferable rubles or 168 million forints.

"You ought to visit Esztergom and witness Mikromed's first steps," Istvan Martos advised. "The production equipment is located there. You will also be able to meet the director whom the joint enterprise's council has appointed. He is directly in charge of operations."

The electronics and precision-engineering enterprise in Esztergom is housed in a one-time monastery that has been restored and converted. This Medicor subsidiary is producing a large volume and wide assortment of medical instruments for checking cardiac action, blood circulation, consciousness, and the nervous system. Some of the instruments, the ones that are built on the basis of Soviet documentation and licensing, are exported to CEMA countries. Bela Badi, the enterprise's director, gives me a guided tour of the shops and production lines. One line is producing printed-circuit boards for the medical microprocessors.

"Up to now we have been assembling these boards from components imported for hard currency," explains Bela Badi. "Now, since the founding of Mikromed, we have been able to switch to components from socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union. This is a significant advantage for the joint enterprise."

"Mikromed is an independent enterprise, licensed to conduct foreign trade directly. By 1 April of this year, we will have to complete our first ten microprocessor-controlled, single-channel EKG's that will be the size of a small box, easy for a district physician to take along on house calls. We designed this EKG in cooperation with Soviet engineers, using Soviet components. The enterprise's collective has pledged to build at least 200 such EKG's by the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. In addition, we will make at least 50 two-channel myographs (instruments for recording the effects of muscular contractions) before the end of this year, and we will also build the prototypes of three other instruments."

"Hungarian and Soviet plants and scientific research institutes will eventually be able to coproduce microprocessor-controlled medical equipment. We expect to develop in this manner about 100 different kinds of instruments during the next five years."

It will be remembered that the Soviet Union is planning to provide by the year 2000 the technical and technological conditions for the population's systematic out-patient care. Broadening year by year its range of special medical equipment, Mikromed intends to participate as closely as possible in the realization of this Soviet program.

The economic regulators are also providing incentives for the joint enterprise to increase its output. Accordingly, Mikromed will have a three-year tax holiday. Thus it will be able to use its entire revenue to finance its further development, to build new plants and buy modern equipment, and to expand its cooperational relations.

Istvan Martos and Bela Badi spoke also of the problems that must be solved. Pricing and financial reporting, for example. New customs regulations must also be in place, because an expansion of cooperational deliveries can be

expected. The 200 Soviet specialists, including the deputy director of the joint enterprise, who will be coming to Esztergom have not been designated as yet. "These are practical problems," says Istvan Martos. "The important thing is for us to be able to start competitive production that meets the world level, and to get more orders. We will be relying also on the Mikromed subsidiary in Moscow that will start operations in 1988."

Moscow: On a Higher Level

The Soviet founding partner of the joint enterprise is the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Medical Instrument Building. The institute's director, V. Viktorov, has visited Budapest and Esztergom on several occasions. Its cooperation with Medicor dates back more than ten years. Thus the choice of a partner was by no means accidental.

The Soviet Union is supplying Hungary with the so-called basic components: the microprocessor and other chips. Ritmus, the Soviet research institute's experimental plant in Moscow, is also participating in the development of new medical equipment. Enterprises in Lvov and other cities will likewise start contractual deliveries of the necessary structural subassemblies to Hungary, on the basis of orders. A special form of cooperation is also being planned, under which the subassemblies made in Esztergom will be sent to Moscow for further assembly or processing; the subassemblies enhanced in this manner will be shipped back to Hungary, and from there to international markets. Medicor's ten joint enterprises abroad will help to export also Mikromed's products.

"Within five or six years, we want to see Mikromed's output reach 100 million transferable rubles a year," the Soviet participants told us about their plans. Mikromed's subsidiary in Moscow, the startup of which is planned for 1988, will also hold training courses for Soviet doctors, in addition to its tasks in conjunction with developing its network for sales and customer services.

Naturally, the Soviet participants are not reticent also about the difficulties when the new forms of cooperation are being discussed.

"At the time of founding Mikromed, substantial problems arose in conjunction with the computation of profitability, and with pricing," says the director of the research institute in Moscow. "The joint enterprise must attain an average profitability of 10 percent a year, the rate that Medicor sets also for itself. You have to consider that the prices of microprocessor technology components, subassemblies and systems are different in Hungary than in the Soviet Union, and therefore the costs will have to be mutually adjusted. We have simplified the methods of accounting to make the aforementioned problems easier to solve. We will divide the profits fifty-fifty and share also the import costs equally."

These and other questions were discussed at the joint consultations held in Moscow last December. All the questions were not resolved. Therefore it has been decided to hold another working session to discuss Mikromed's operations, this time in Budapest.

It is being proclaimed in both capitals that the founding of Mikromed is just the beginning. Additional Soviet-Hungarian joint enterprises are being planned in transportation, the production of machine tools, electronics, and other industries. The advantages that this type of cooperation offers are obvious. The entire process becomes several times more effective. Several unnecessary intermediate links are excluded. "Paperwork for its own sake," and endless negotiations to reconcile differences are eliminated. The first steps of the Soviet-Hungarian joint enterprise indicate that a new and qualitatively higher level of cooperation between the two fraternal socialist countries is unfolding.

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CSO: 2500/170

STATISTICS ON STATE AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 87 p 10

[Article by Judit Kozma: "Facts About the Structure of Business Organizations"]

[Text] As a result of enterprise decentralizations and the appearance of the new forms of entrepreneurship, the structure of business organizations has changed radically. Last year, the Control and Auditing Main Administration of the Ministry of Finance undertook the first comprehensive analysis of this new organizational structure. The investigations systematize the data on the three principal forms of organization under which businesses operate: the enterprise and the cooperative (hereinafter the enterprise); the small enterprise and the small cooperative (hereinafter the small enterprise); and the domestic associations, enterprise workers' business partnerships, business partnerships, specialists' cooperative groups, etc. (hereinafter partnerships). They also present the relative proportions of the mentioned three principal forms of organization, and sketch the most important characteristics of each form's operation. In the following we will review those findings of the investigations that analyze the structure of business organizations and the relative proportions of the three principal forms.

According to the surveys, there were 5,083 enterprises, 1,160 small enterprises and 32,937 domestic partnerships--in other words, a total of 39,180 businesses--operating in the economy at the end of 1985. (In addition to all this, there were also 145,000 artisans, and 25,500 small merchants.) These figures reflect the dynamic growth of the number of businesses.

In terms of the number of businesses, industry and agriculture lead in the enterprise category, followed by trade and services. In the small-enterprise category, industry again has the most businesses; the other two more significant branches are construction and services. (A decree bans this form of business organization in agriculture, and it is hardly known in trade.) The bulk of the partnerships likewise operate in industry, followed by services and construction.

Of the 39,180 businesses operating in the national economy, 13 percent are enterprises, 3 percent are small enterprises, and 84 percent are partnerships. In terms of the number of employees, the sequence in which the three principal forms of business organization rank is the exact opposite. The

enterprise is decisive in this respect: enterprises employ 80 percent of the combined total work force, while the partnerships (counting both principal occupations and second jobs) employ only 10 percent. The dominant role of the enterprise form becomes even more unambiguous if we include only principal occupations in the breakdown: in this case, the enterprises' share of the combined total work force is 96 or 97 percent.

Considering the trends behind the relative shares of the combined total work force, it will be interesting to note that the combined total work force of the three principal forms of business organization declined by nearly 10 percent from 1984 to 1985. Within this there was a moderate decline at the enterprises, and a significant rise at the small enterprises and partnerships.

As a result of how the number of businesses and the combined total work force developed, the average number of workers per business declined. Within this, the averages per small enterprise and per partnership rose. The present averages are: 676 workers per enterprise, 65 per small enterprise, and 12 persons per partnership. The overall average is 100 persons per business.

With the businesses assigned to 12 classes on the basis of the size of their work force, we find the following:

In the enterprise category, a third of the businesses belong in the class with a work force ranging from 101 to 300 persons. The relative proportion of businesses in the 300-500 and 500-1000 classes is also high: 42 percent for the two classes jointly.

In the small-enterprise category, the largest number of businesses--here, too, a third of the total for this category--is to be found in the 11-30 class, while 28 percent of the businesses are in the 50-100 class.

More than half of the partnerships, specifically 18,000, belong in the 3-10 class. In the partnership category, 168 have work forces of over 100 each. These are specialists' groups within agricultural cooperatives, for which there is no limit on the number of members a group may have.

Jointly, the more than 34,000 businesses with a work force of over 100 each are employing fewer persons than the 18 enterprises with a work force of over 10,000 each.

The preponderance of the enterprise form is evident also from the three principal forms' relative shares of the combined total assets and net output. In 1985, the enterprises accounted for 98.8 percent of the combined total assets and for 93.6 percent of combined total net output. And although the other two forms, namely the small enterprises and partnerships, are undergoing dynamic development, their shares and economic weight will remain modest for a long while yet.

At the same time, enterprises accounted for 96 percent of the aggregate profit made in the national economy; the small enterprises, for 1.9 percent; and the partnerships, for 2.1 percent. Small enterprises and partnerships accounted for a significant share (19.8 percent jointly) of the profit only

in construction. Which indicates that the small enterprises and partnerships, unlike the enterprises, are prospering in construction.

What conclusions may be drawn from all this regarding the structure of business organizations by size? The analyses reveal that in recent years there has been a favorable shift in this respect. As a rule, the formation of new business organizations--and this applies particularly to a fair proportion of the small enterprises--was motivated by the market, rather than dictated from above; and in a good many areas it has helped to strengthen the development of competition. But on the other hand--as evident typically from the statistics on the relative shares of the combined total work force and combined total assets--the strong centralization observed earlier in the traditional business organizations has been relaxed only slightly, and in many respects the disproportions in the structure of business organizations are persisting. The most typical indication of this is the fact that there remain unalterably few plants and businesses of medium size.

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CSO: 2500/169

MEAT CONSUMPTION 80 KG PER CAPITA FOR 1986

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Jan 87 p 12

[Article by v.l.: "Last Year We Ate More Meat Than the Year Before"]

[Text] The meat-industry enterprises have become independent as of 1 January, and the the Livestock Trading and Meat Industry Trust has ceased. At a press conference on Thursday [15 Jan 87], Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food Ferenc Szabo discussed these organizational changes, and the reorganization of foreign trade within the agriculture and food industry branch. He established that the meat industry stood its ground even in difficult times, but the changes have been made necessary by circumstances such as the rising domestic consumption of meat, for example. The per capita consumption in 1986 exceeded 80 kilograms, which is 2 percent more than the year before. It has become more difficult to export; and the livestock population has also declined, for a variety of reasons.

In addition to the 19 state meat-industry enterprises in Hungary, 350 plants are processing meat. These plants are being operated by farms, or by general consumer and marketing cooperatives. In the course of streamlining the organizational structure, the enterprises have been granted the right to conduct foreign trade independently. They are exercising this right through the Terimpex, reorganized into a joint enterprise. To improve the meat supply of the capital, the Budapest Meat Wholesale Enterprise has likewise been reorganized into a joint enterprise. A Meat Industry Center has been formed, under a council consisting of the meat-industry enterprises' directors. The center is a coordinating organization, rather than an operating one.

The deputy minister noted that several of the enterprises are in debt, some have neglected their opportunities for expansion, and others will have to be given aid for their development.

Various methods for aiding the enterprises centrally have been elaborated to help them expand and adapt their product structures to the market's requirements. Aid will be comprehensive, to improve economic effectiveness of producing the raw material and of its processing as well. The ministry will be signing contracts with several of the enterprises, stipulating organizational and technical measures for further progress in modernizing their production conditions and packaging. Credit may be provided over a period of three years, in annually diminishing amounts.

1986 PLAN FULFILLMENT COMMUNIQUE

AU071001 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

["Communique on the Fulfillment of the 1986 Single National Plan of Socio-economic Development of the SR of Romania"]

[Text] In 1986, the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan—the target of which is to bring Romania among the countries with a medium-development level—the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all our people, closely united around the RCP and its secretary general and the president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, obtained new and important achievements in promoting the socioeconomic development of the fatherland and implementing the historic decisions of the 13th Congress.

The achievements attained in 1986 strongly confirm the correctness and realism of our party's policies and of the directives and guidelines laid down by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who—by creatively applying the generally valid truths of scientific socialism to concrete conditions prevailing in Romania—has carried out a brilliant revolutionary activity to resolve cardinal problems of our intensive economic growth and to concentrate all the country's material and human resources on ensuring a steady socioeconomic development and further raising the people's well-being, the supreme goal of the RCP and our country's president.

In spite of difficult international economic conditions, by taking consistent steps to develop the forces of production, we obtained important results last year in developing industry, agriculture, and other branches of the national economy, and increasing economic efficiency. In industry we attained one of the highest development rates in recent years. In agriculture, in spite of not quite optimal weather conditions, we obtained the largest grain crop in the country's history. Significant progress was also made in increasing labor productivity and the fatherland's national income and socialist wealth.

In 1986 important results were also attained in science and education. The implementation of scientific research and technological development programs elaborated under the direct leadership of Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, has made an outstanding contribution to intensively developing the national economy, accelerating the renewal process of production, improving and

modernizing manufacture technologies, raising the technical and qualitative level of products, and better utilizing all resources.

We modernized and diversified education and the recycling of youth and the entire working personnel. We also developed culture and arts, as particularly important elements of the progress and prosperity of our socialist fatherland.

Romania actively participated in the international division of labor, by diversifying its foreign trade exchanges and developing production sharing and technical-scientific cooperation with other countries. The measures adopted to better use domestic resources and limit imports to the minimum required have led to an active trade balance and contributed to a further reduction of our foreign debt.

A particularly important role in the 1986 economic growth was played by the implementation of measures established for this stage within the framework of broad efforts to improve the organization and modernization of productive processes in all spheres of activity. Likewise, the steps taken to improve the economic-financial mechanism and the entire system of workers management and economic-financial self-administration, and to apply scientifically substantiated norms in the fields of material expenditures, labor resources, and circulating funds and means have contributed to strengthening the responsibility of management councils and the working people's general meetings for the entire socioeconomic activity of each economic unit and for the development and enhancement of socialist property. We have ensured stable prices and a healthy monetary flow, and we have consolidated our budgetary, financial, and national currency balance.

The year 1986 goes down as a year of new and important achievements in the most successful period in our country's history, a period which is justifiably called by all our people, with gratitude and patriotic pride, the Nicolae Ceauseacu Era.

The major indexes of the country's socioeconomic development in 1986 is as follows:

	<u>1986</u> <u>Achievements</u>	<u>Percentage</u> <u>Compared to</u> <u>1985</u> <u>Achievements</u>
Population--thousand inhabitants	22,895	100.5
Active Population (employed in socioeconomic activites)		
--thousand persons	10,670	100.8
Number of working personnel		
--thousand	7,752	101.2

Industrial production—billion lei		
--Commodity output value	1,312.1	107.7
--Net production value	404.0	107.7
Agricultural production--billion lei		
--Overall production value	252.6	112.8
--Net production value	113.0	113.3
Total volume of goods transportation		
--Million metric tons	2,729.5	107.6
Total volume of investments in the national economy		
--Billion lei	249.3	101.2
Total volume of foreign trade		
--Billion lei	300.6	91.0
--Export-total--billion lei	164.4	88.4
--Import-total--billion lei	136.2	94.4
Dynamics of labor productivity per person:		
--In national industry (calculated by commodity-output)		107.4
--In construction-assembly (calculated per overall production)		108.3
--In rail transportation (calculated per gross incomes)		107.4
Total expenditure per 1,000-lei commodity output in the national industry—lei	848.9	99.0
National Income--billion lei	771.8	107.3
People's cash incomes in the socialist section--billion lei	389.3	103.6
Dynamics of working personnel's average nominal remuneration, at the end of the year		101.3
Dynamics of peasants' real incomes derived from work in agricultural production co-operatives and private farms, per active person		102.4
Retail sales through socialist trade network--billion lei	283.3	102.4
Expenditure from state budget for socio-cultural events--billion lei	98.4	108.8
New housing--thousand	108.1	102.4

(Note: Figures in this communique represent the current 1986 prices, while dynamics are calculated under methodological conditions and on the basis of comparable prices)

At the end of 1986, there were 22,895,000 inhabitants in the SR of Romania, with more than half of the country's population living in municipalities and towns. The active population (employed in socioeconomic activities) reached the figure of almost 10,670,000, of which about 72 percent are employed in industry and other nonagricultural branches. New jobs are created, thus ensuring conditions for the full assertion of the basic right of all the fatherland's citizens, regardless of nationality, to work, education, and a free and dignified existence. The average number of working personnel was 7,752,000, with women amounting to about 40 percent of the total number of working personnel.

The successes attained in developing industry, agriculture, and other branches that produce material goods as well as in raising economic efficiency have ensured an important increase in the national income, namely by 7.3 percent more than in 1985, thus creating the necessary resources for expanding and modernizing the forces of production and raising the people's living standard.

In the foreign trade field, in spite of the fact that we exported a larger number of products, the overall volume of our foreign trade was lower than in 1985, due to lower prices on the international market, particularly for oil and oil products. However, this situation is also due to shortcomings in the foreign trade activity of certain ministries, central departments, and enterprises, particularly in contracting for putting into production, and manufacturing products earmarked for export.

The 1986 achievements have laid a sound foundation for implementing the tasks set by the 13th Party Congress for the current 5-year plan and the targets included in the party program on the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and on Romania's progress toward communism.

Results attained in 1984 in the major branches and sectors of the national economy are as follows:

I. Scientific Research, Technological Development, and the Introduction of Technological Progress

In 1986, the activity of scientific research and technological development has resulted in the manufacture and introduction in production of about 2,900 new and modernized types of machines, equipment, appliances, and installations with higher parameters, about 800 materials, and more than 460 consumer goods. More than 1,470 new and modernized technologies and new systems of mechanization and automation were taken into production. In 1986--the first stage of the implementation of the program on improving the organization and modernization of production processes--we have ensured a production renewal in the processing industry by almost 18 percent, by putting into production certain products of high technological level for export and domestic requirements.

Scientific research continued to increase its contribution to ensuring our own base of raw and other materials and increasing the efficiency of geological activity, in accordance with economic requirements for finding and

utilizing new useful mineral ingredients and energy resources. Particular emphasis was placed on increasing the efficiency of geological prospecting and exploration and shortening the transition from the research stage to actually putting into production the reserves found.

We continued research for the utilization of new energy sources, fuel, synthetic fuels, and all categories of energy resources, with a view to reducing material consumption.

Important steps were taken to improve and elaborate new technologies for the better processing and utilizing of raw and other materials and for raising the technical and qualitative parameters of products.

Scientific research has made an important contribution to fulfilling the program on the recovery and utilization of energy resources and reusable materials and on the reconditioning of spare parts and subassemblies, in order to reintroduce them in the economic flow. More than 56 percent of the labor productivity increase compared with 1985 was attained on the basis of technological progress.

In agriculture, scientific research strived to create new strains of highly productive seeds and plants with better resistance to frost and drought, new breeds of animals with a higher potential, new animal feeding technologies, and new methods for land improvement operations and for fertilizing and preparing the lands.

Particular attention was paid to scientifically setting norms for consumption, classifying and standardizing products, modernizing installations, rationalizing production flows, and eliminating technological losses.

We ensured the closer blending of applied research and basic research in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology, something which increased the contribution of science to the country's socioeconomic development.

II. Industry

In 1986, the basic feature of our industrial development was the high rate of growth of production and labor productivity and the intensification of the renewal and modernization process, through the manufacture of products with high technical, functional, and economic parameters. The technological and productive potential of industry increased with the commissioning of new projects and the completion of important work to modernize and reequip production capacities.

The commodity output attained in industry totalled 1,312.1 billion lei; this means an increase of 95 billion lei compared with 1985, which amounts to about half of the entire industrial production of 1965.

Greater concern was shown for fulfilling the provisions of special programs on developing our own base of raw and other materials, by further increasing production in the branches of the extractive and energy industry. The

production of net coal reached 47,518,000 metric tons; 26,763 million cubic meters of methane gas were extracted; and 75.5 billion KWH of electric energy were achieved. In spite of all this, a number of shortfalls in the extractive and energy industry, particularly in the extraction of coal and oil and in the production of coal-based electrical power, have caused hardships to our economy and to the smooth development of production processes.

Production continued to diversify in the processing industry; we witnessed a ceaseless process of production renewal, with larger growth rates registered in peak technological branches which better utilize material resources and manpower.

In the metallurgical industry, production increased by 6.8 percent compared with 1985. We produced 14,276,000 metric tons of steel; important increases were registered for alloy steels, namely 10.7 percent, and for rolled steels with a higher processing degree.

In the machine-building industry, production increased by 7.7 percent and its structure continued to improve. Higher development rates than those recorded for the entire branch were attained primarily in the electronic industry, by 12.2 percent; computer technology means, by 14.6 percent; precision machinery, the optics industry, and hydraulic and pneumatic equipment and parts, by 9.6 percent; and oil equipment, by 17.7 percent.

In the chemical industry, production increased by 8.3 percent, with precision and low-tonnage branches developing at a faster pace. Important increases were registered for synthetic rubber, 10.7 percent; artificial and synthetic fibers and yarns, 17.7 percent; and medicines, 11.0 percent.

In the building materials industry, production increased by 11.8 percent, by expanding the manufacture of better quality cement and light construction materials.

In the consumer goods industry, emphasis was placed on better utilizing domestic raw materials; the variety range of products was diversified and the manufacture of better quality products expanded. Important increases were registered for textiles, by 6.3 percent; knitwear, 8.9 percent; fish, 12.5 percent; canned vegetables and fruit, 18.8 percent; and for meat and meat products, oils, sugar products, cakes, and pastries.

In accordance with the 13th Party Congress directives, further resolute steps were taken in 1986 to implement the policy of harmonious socioeconomic development of all the country's areas. The achievement of higher development rates than the average for the country in the commodity output of 25 counties—particularly in Giurgiu, 19.5 percent; Constanta, 18.5 percent; Calarasi, 17.5 percent; Salaj, 16.7 percent; Vilcea, 13.7 percent; Mehedinti, 12.4 percent; Dimbovita, 11.4 percent; Tulcea, 10.6 percent; Covasna, 8.3 percent; and Harghita, 8.0 percent—has brought about new and positive changes in the regional development of the forces of production.

Labor productivity in national industry, calculated on the basis of commodity output, increased by 7.4 percent compared with the previous year, thus making a substantial contribution to our commodity output surplus.

Expenditures per 1,000 lei worth of commodity output in national industry were 8.2 lei lower than in 1985, while material expenditures were 1.4 lei lower; thus, savings worth 8.7 billion lei were obtained.

Although overall good results were scored in industry, the plan provisions were not entirely fulfilled in certain sectors. Certain ministries, central departments, and enterprises did not act in a spirit of responsibility to prepare and smoothly fulfill the physical production, particularly the one earmarked for export and to solve problems concerning the introduction into production of new items. In the metallurgical and chemical industry, failure to produce certain varieties and products required by other branches has created many hardships in ensuring the smooth development and supply of production processes.

Arrears were also registered in the machine-building industry, particularly in the production earmarked for exports and in the manufacture of necessary equipment and installations for commissioning certain investment projects. Many sectors failed to ensure the appropriate operation of machines and equipment at capacity levels envisaged in blueprints; delays were registered in modernizing certain technologies and raising the qualitative level of certain products; and the failure of a number of units to fulfill their tasks for raising labor productivity and to cut down on costs has had a negative impact on the planned efficiency.

The nonfulfillment of planned tasks to cut back expenditures was mainly influenced by excessive energy and material consumption in certain sectors, by failure to observe utilization indexes for materials, and by nonfulfillment of tasks for recovering reuseable materials.

III. Agriculture

In agriculture, we obtained in 1986 very important achievements for the intensive development of this branch and the implementation of targets of the new agrarian revolution.

In accordance with program provisions for guaranteeing sure and stable crops, we carried out new and important land improvement operations. In the sphere of irrigation, small and large-scale improvement work was carried out on an area of 243,400 hectares, including 46,000 hectares to be commissioned next spring; the overall irrigated area at the end of 1986 amounted to 3,152,000 hectares. Drainage work was carried out on 168,900 hectares as well as anti-soil erosion work on 126,600 hectares and an important volume of other agricultural soil improvement operations (478,000 hectares through indirect fertilizing, 441,000 hectares through scarification, and 2,626,000 hectares through subsoiling).

During 1986 agriculture was supplied with 1.6 million metric tons of nitric, phosphoric, and potassic chemical fertilizers in terms of active ingredients and with other materials to combat pests. At the same time, 391 million metric tons of organic fertilizers were applied.

The vegetable production in 1986 was much higher than in 1985. We had a grain production of 30,347,000 metric tons, that is 1,330 kg per capita on an average. We attained 8,513,000 metric tons of fall potatoes, 7,536,000 metric tons of field vegetables, 1,004,000 metric tons of sunflower, 2,552,000 metric tons of fruit, and 2,272,000 metric tons of grapes.

At the end of 1986, the number of livestock in state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives was higher than in 1985. The final results in regard to the total number of livestock in 1986 will be made known after the completion of the animal census that began on 1 February 1987. The increase in the number of livestock and in average yields has led to the achievement of a higher animal production in 1986 compared with 1985.

This increase in agricultural production has made it possible for deliveries to state stocks by socialist agricultural units and private farms to be higher than in 1985, as follows: 28.3 percent for wheat and rye; 18.1 percent for barley and two-row barley; 102.3 percent for corn and sorghum; 31.7 percent for sunflower and rape; 33.8 percent for fall potatoes; 24.7 percent for vegetables as a whole; 50.7 percent for fresh fruit; and 7.9 percent for eggs for consumption.

In spite of good results attained in agriculture in 1986, the productions attained by a series of units and counties were below possibilities, due to nonexecution of land improvement operations on time, other shortcomings in organizing the crop harvesting on schedule and under optimum conditions, and certain deficiencies in breeding and caring for animals.

IV. Silviculture and Water Management

In silviculture, in 1986 further actions were taken to implement the provisions for this year of the National Program for Preserving and Developing Forestry Resources Up to the Year 2010.

Forest regeneration work was carried out on 56,300 hectares, of which 16,000 hectares through natural processes and 39,600 hectares through afforestation and reafforestation work.

Action continued to promote valuable indigenous species, which accounted for 47.9 percent of the newly afforested area. Likewise, 5,900 hectares of eroded land which did not belong to the forestry resources, but which could not be used for agricultural purposes, were also afforested.

In the fields of water management in 1986 new multipurpose reservoirs totalling 488 million cubic meters were commissioned and watervay regulation work was performed on a stretch of 195 km, anti-flood damming was carried out on a stretch of 151 km to protect population centers, economic units, and an agricultural area of 11,400 hectares.

V. Transportation and Telecommunications

In 1986, transportation and telecommunications continued to develop and modernize in keeping with the requirements of the national economy and of the

people. The volume of goods transported was 2,729,5 million metric tons. The material base of transportation for general purposes increased through the addition of 18 diesel and electric locomotives, 1,879 freight cars with the equivalent of 4 axles, some river non-propelled vessels with a capacity of 101,000 metric tons, 10 river tugboats and pusher tugs, and maritime vessels with a capacity of 142,100 DWT.

Some shortcomings were manifested in the field of transportation as regards the improvement of the goods transportation flow, the complete utilization of existing capacities, the process of transferring a greater part of goods transportation by cars to the railway transportation and to transportation on inland rivers, and the observance of the rules on fuel and electric energy consumption.

The volume of post and telecommunication activities in 1986 increased by 5.5 percent compared with 1985, through an intensive utilization of the existing means.

VI. Investments—Construction

In accordance with the 13th RCP Congress decisions, the investments were mainly channeled toward achieving work in modernization, automation, and re-utilization of the existing capacities, thus ensuring a better profiling, integration, and specialization of production and the increase of economic efficiency.

In 1986, the total volume of investments achieved in the national economy was 249,3 billion lei, that is 1.2 percent higher than in 1985.

In 1986, 219 billion lei worth of fixed assets were put into operation, thus the technical-material base of our economy was further expanded. And 360 important production, industrial, and agricultural and animal breeding capacities were fully or partially put into operation.

The program of building dwellings and technical and city planning assets, and of carrying out the territorial systematization in Bucharest and in other localities of our homeland continued at a steady rate. There were 108,000 flats commissioned, of which 12,000 in rural areas. In many towns of our country the housing problem has been solved and appropriate conditions were created to completely satisfy the needs of the population in this respect and to generally conclude the organization and systematization of the towns of our country by the end of the current 5-year plan period.

The investment plan and the plan for putting production capacities into operation were not completely fulfilled, due to the shortcomings that were manifested in preparing investments, ensuring documentation and equipment, in completing the construction-assembly work, and properly organizing activity on the work sites and the work of re-equipping and modernizing production capacities.

The shortfalls registered in completing some investment work caused delay in putting into operation some production capacities, which are important to

our national economy, thus affecting the way to ensure the required resources for the better supply of production.

Not observing the deadline on or carrying out with delay the overhaul repairs caused difficulties in the normal utilization of equipment and installations, thus exerting an unfavorable influence on the fulfillment of the physical production plan.

Some shortfalls were also manifested in designing investments, some oversized solutions and the use of expensive materials and of some outdated technologies were still accepted. Lags were also registered in completing some irrigation and land improvement work which had been included in the 1986 plan.

VII. Foreign Economic Relations

The volume of foreign trade in 1986, estimated at the current trade rate, was 300.6 billion lei. In 1986, our country had economic and cooperation relations with 149 countries. Commercial relations and cooperation in production with socialist countries continued to develop and expand. Relations with CEMA member countries expanded in accordance with the special long-term cooperation programs and with the Comprehensive Program for scientific and technical cooperation through the year 2000. Economic and technological-scientific exchanges with developing countries and with developed capitalist countries continued.

The volume of exports in 1986 was 164.4 billion lei, that is 11.6 percent less than in 1985. Goods with a high processing level--machines, transportation means and equipment, chemical products and consumer industry goods made up 63 percent of total volume of the exports.

Export plan provisions were not fully attained, due to lower prices on world markets, particularly for oil and oil products, and to deficiencies in the activity of certain ministries, central departments, and enterprises, which failed to give priority to the production earmarked for export and did not take steps to conclude contracts in time and adapt production to foreign market requirements.

The import volume attained in 1986 amounted to 136.2 billion lei, that is 5.6 percent lower than in 1985. We imported mineral raw materials, fuel, other materials, machines, equipment, and installations, thus meeting production requirements and other needs of the national economy.

In spite of all difficulties, the foreign trade activity in 1986 has led to a trade balance surplus of two billion dollars, thus facilitating the repayment of an important part of our foreign debt.

VIII. The People's Material and Cultural Living Standard

The development of the material production and its greater efficiency were reflected in the growth of the national income and, on this basis, of the well-being of the entire nation.

The remuneration fund for the working personnel's labor was 283 billion lei in 1986, that is 1.9 percent higher than in 1985.

The average net nominal pay at the end of 1986 amounted to 3,018 lei.

By firmly applying a policy of stable prices, the evolution of the index of prices and service tariffs had been below the planned level, practically remaining at the 1985 level.

The peasantry's nominal incomes derived from work in agricultural production cooperatives and private farms, calculated per active person, increased by 2.4 percent in 1986 compared with the previous year, as a result of a larger agricultural production and a better organization of work in agricultural cooperative units.

The population drew benefits from the considerable funds allocated to financing sociocultural activities, in the form of pensions, child assistance and allowances, scholarships for pupils and students, money for the development of education, culture, health care, and so forth. In 1986 these funds amounted to 116.0 billion lei, that is 5,080 lei per capita.

In 1986, the average state social security old age pension for full length of service was 1,817 lei, that is 2.0 percent higher than in the previous year.

Through measures taken to increase, as of 1 January 1986, child allowances, assistance to mothers with many children, and pregnancy allowances, the population enjoyed an increase in incomes worth 6.7 billion lei compared with 1985.

Retail sales of goods through socialist trade outlets totaled 283.3 billion lei, that is 2.4 percent more than in 1985; food sales (including public catering) increased by 1.6 percent and non-food sales by 3.2 percent.

The volume of paid customer services in socialist units, including transport and communal administration units, totaled 62.4 billion lei.

In towns, the water distribution network was extended by more than 270 km and the sewer system by almost 290 km. The 10.4 km-long first section of line II of the Bucharest subway was also commissioned.

All levels of education continued to develop and improve in 1986, in accordance with national economic requirements, by expanding and diversifying the forms of linking education with production and research.

In the 1986/87 school-year, there were 5.5 million students in school, which represents 24 percent of the country's population, as follows: pre-school grades by 836,200 children (80.4 percent of the 3-5 years old children); primary and secondary schools by 3,017,300 pupils; high-school by 1,197,000 pupils; vocational and foremen schools by 280,400 pupils; and higher education by 157,200 students.

In 1986, the national economy employed 372,000 skilled workers from vocational schools and specialized high schools. Likewise, 30,600 engineers, economists, and teaching, medical, and other cadres graduated from higher education.

Cultural and artistic activities continued to expand and diversify. In 1986, 29 artistic movies and 570 documentaries, short features, and scientific films were produced. In 1986, 204.7 million cinema patrons were recorded; 2,588 books and pamphlets were published with 61.1 million copies and newspapers and magazines were printed in 1,403 million copies.

Medical services for the people were provided in 1986 by 48,100 doctors, that is one doctor for each 475 inhabitants. New hospitals, dispensaries, and polyclinics were put into service. The number of medicare hospital beds has reached the figure of 214,000, that is 9.4 beds per 1,000 people, on an average. The technical-material base of tourism, recreation, and spa treatment was further developed and modernized.

In 1986, new and important progress was made in approximating working and living conditions of citizens in towns and villages throughout the country and raising the people's civilization level.

The achievements attained in 1986 lay a sound foundation for a high rate of socioeconomic development in 1987 and strongly highlight the correctness of our party's policy and of directives and guidelines set forth by party Secretary General and President of the Republic Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, which ensure the unflinching implementation of the historic decisions of the 13th Party Congress for intensively developing the national economy, science, education, and culture, raising the entire nation's well being, and strengthening national independence and sovereignty.

As stressed by the party leadership, in 1986 we obtained outstanding results in the country's socioeconomic development; however, these results could have been even better if all units had taken firm steps to fully utilize the opportunities offered by the strong production potential of our national economy by enterprises, central departments, and ministries for improving the organization and modernization of the forces of production, measures that should have been applied starting with the second half of 1986; this has led to a high consumption of fuel, energy, and raw and other materials in certain units. Likewise, not enough resolute steps were taken to smoothly fulfill tasks concerning the physical production, particularly the production earmarked for export, and to strictly observe the plan discipline.

The commendable fulfillment of plan provisions for 1987 and all targets of the current 5-year plan requires the undelayed elimination of shortcomings in certain enterprises and the application of all established measures to raise the entire activity to a higher level of quality and efficiency, in accordance with requirements of the current stage of our intensive economic development.

In this respect, we must give priority--as the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed--to exemplarily implementing the programs on the

introduction and expansion of the latest scientific-technological achievements in all fields of activity.

It is necessary to closely link research with production and education, so that scientific achievements can be immediately put into production in all sectors. We must ensure that our strong scientific-technological base is used to implement modernization programs, elaborate new and better products and technologies, and improve and raise the technical and qualitative level of products.

In industry, we must pay particular attention to developing the raw materials and energy base, attaining the physical production for all ranges of production, primarily the production earmarked for export, carrying out repair and overhaul work on schedule, further cutting back consumption, and making better use of raw and other materials, fuel, and electrical power.

In agriculture, we have resources and possibilities for obtaining even better results for all crops, including large yields in the livestock sector, which can increase the contribution of this important sector of the national economy to the country's overall development.

We must pay greater attention to raising labor productivity, on the basis of the scientific organization of production and work and the mechanization and automation of production processes. The year 1987 must be decisive for proceeding to further implement measures to improve and modernize the production process and work in all fields. It is also necessary to pay greater attention to training our cadres and manpower and attaining a high professional, scientific-technical, and cultural level, in accordance with the requirements of the new development stage which we entered now.

A primary importance for the fatherland's overall development devolves on commendably applying planned investments in the energy sector and extractive industry, reequipping and modernizing our existing industrial production units, and implementing agricultural programs. Steps should be taken to economically utilize material and financial means, eliminate useless expenditures, and substantially reduce the cost of worksite preparations.

Romania's ever more active participation in the world exchange of values requires that we primarily attain the export production at a high qualitative level, develop production sharing, and implement the programs established within CEMA and the long-term programs concluded with socialist countries and other states. We should pay special attention to improving the efficiency of our foreign trade and appropriately capitalizing on our work and products on foreign markets.

The full implementation of 1987 plan provisions requires a firm application of measures to ensure the expedient functioning of the economic-financial mechanism and to firmly base the activity of all units on the principle of workers' self-management and self-administration. We must resolutely work to make full and more efficient use of all resources, substantially reduce production loans, and strictly observe norms set for material expenditures,

work resources, and circulating funds and means, with a view to further improving our financial-banking system. On this basis, we must strongly increase profitability, profits, and economic efficiency in all sectors as well as the national income and the wealth of the entire nation.

Resolute steps should be taken to further improve the remuneration system, on the basis of the overall contract and direct system, in all fields of activity, by firmly applying the socialist remuneration system, so that the working people's incomes should be directly determined by the quantity and quality of the work done and so that nobody may obtain incomes without work.

We will have to further improve uniform planning and management forms, on the basis of the uniform national plan for the entire activity; we must attain a radical change in the working style of ministries, central departments, and enterprises and in the management and resolution of problems that emerge in the production process, by bearing full responsibility for fulfilling the plan.

The new stage we are covering now requires that, under the leadership of party bodies and organizations, we should ensure a better functioning of the working people's councils and general meetings, so that each collective--in its capacity as owner, producer, end-user, and direct participant in the administration of part of the national wealth--must be responsible for the entire activity in the respective unit that should reflect the creative thinking and committed action of the workers class, engineers, technicians, and all our people.

Closely united around the party and its secretary general and the president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, all our people will act in a spirit of full responsibility to implement the 13th Congress decisions and ensure the exemplary fulfillment of the 1987 plan, which ensures the continuation and enhancement of the process for modernizing and intensively developing all branches and sectors of activity and Romania's firm march forward toward the peaks of socialist and communist progress and civilization.

The Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development

The Council of Ministers

The State Planning Committee

The Central Statistics Directorate

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PRESS FOCUS ON ENERGY PRODUCTION, CONSERVATION

AU261920 [Editorial Report] In recent days Romanian media have devoted increased attention to issues related to energy production and conservation, in an apparent reflection of the regime's concern about possible energy shortfalls this winter. The focus began after the 13 January meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee, chaired by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, which mainly dealt with economic matters. The slogans, articles, and reports on energy topics featured by the Bucharest dailies SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 14 January seem to have marked the launch of a media campaign to inform the public about the energy situation in the country.

Thus, the major radio broadcasts, which normally feature reports on production successes at economic enterprises, have been carrying a greater number of short reports from mining and oil enterprises and power stations. This was particularly noticeable in the first week after the PEC meeting, when that part of the broadcasts dealt sometimes exclusively with the energy sector. These items--almost all of them low-level--report on "reorganization and improvement measures at various enterprises and workers' pledges, and steps to increase the production of coal, oil, gas, and electric power."

Concrete examples of local achievements are given: "The Rosia mining enterprise has turned out 2,500 metric tons of coal in excess of plan provisions since the beginning of the year"; "The Rovinari mining plant has delivered a surplus of 26,000 metric tons of coal this year" following "the application of steps to better organize work and production and optimally utilize available equipment"; "A micro-hydropower station with an installed power of 2,000 KWH was commissioned in Surduc, Timis Country"; or "Comanesti miners are currently delivering 3 percent more coal to power stations." Unlike the press material on this topic, the radio broadcasts have not been observed to carry out any reports on or usually winds up with reminders and appeals to both producers and consumers to "produce and save as much energy as possible."

However, as has been the case for several years now, it is again the press that is giving extensive coverage to energy problems this winter, by featuring a large number of slogans, articles, and reports on the "need to strictly save energy and take effective steps to increase energy production." On an average, such items take up part of page one and about half or even all of page three (sometimes page two, for various printing reasons) of both SCINTEIA and

ROMANIA LIBERA—a page which is normally devoted to all kinds of economic matters—totaling between 3,000 and 5,000 words per newspaper issue, from 14 January through 22 January; from 23 through 25 January, the dailies devote less and less space to the energy issue, just a few items on an inside page—usually page two or three—with an average overall wordage of about 1,500 words per issue; SCINTEIA of 24 and 25 January carry no energy items at all.

The individual items, ranging from 200 to 2,500 words, are either unattributed or signed by regular correspondents or other authors whose positions are not specified. They are usually published under common headlines such as: "In the Light of Tasks Stressed at the Meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee—Electric Energy Should Be Rigorously Husbanded and Strictly Saved" or "In the Spirit of Tasks Stressed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee—Energy, a Problem of Maximum Importance and a Concern of Maximum Responsibility." These articles and reports are interspersed with various slogans printed in boldface, such as: "Citizens in towns and villages! Let us rationally use energy these days, both at home and at the place of work. Let us husband fuels with maximum responsibility, thus fulfilling our high patriotic duty in a civic spirit: save the country's energy resources!" or "Working people from energy sectors! Prove your high patriotic spirit by contributing, at your places of work, to an increased production of electric power! In the interest of the national economy and each citizen!"

"The urgent need for an exemplary mobilization of all efforts in the battle for energy" is stressed by ROMANIA LIBERA of 15 January in several articles on page three. A 600-word interview conducted by Const. Azaitii with the manager of Electrocentrale Borzesti thermal station reveals that the enterprise "cannot operate at the planned capacity" due to the fact that the "Republica Enterprise of Bucharest has failed to deliver the necessary equipment for major repairs on schedule." Another 700-word interview by I. Cojocaru at the Pretrila Mining Enterprise reveals that the "mine has failed to deliver the planned quantities of coal" mainly due to "a fluctuation of the working personnel and other shortcomings in the organization of work." The need to "stabilize cadres and homogenize the work brigades" is emphasized. In a 2,000-word article titled "Strict Observation of Obligations Toward Customers," Eliade Balan stressed the need for "industrial enterprises to give priority to the production of equipment and installations required by the energy sector."

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian in 16 January carries on pages one and five a 2,500-word article by Viorel Salagean entitled: "Attitude Toward Material and Energy Resources," on the "urgent need to conserve the necessary materials and energy for a smooth development of the productive activity." The author pleads for a "change of attitude" on the part of the working personnel in primary industrial branches; "being thrifty means to think economically" and saving energy and material resources is a prerequisite for a "balanced energy base." This is a recurrent theme in all dailies. Energy consumption should be cut drastically in both productive and nonproductive sectors. In a 500-word interview with ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian of

16 January on page three, Iolando Toma, first deputy chairman of Bucharest's Sector Five boasts that "The main direction in which steps were taken to diminish nontechnological consumption has been the rational use of public and household lighting" in his sector. No efforts have been spared in this "battle to reduce energy consumption." Meetings were held with tenants' associations in order to "discuss problems on rationally using electrical power at home and work and avoiding wasteful losses of heat and unjustified consumption." Realization of this prerequisite will "prove the civic spirit of all citizens."

In a 1,500-word "ROMANIA LIBERA Inquiry" published by the daily on 17 January on page three, the author, Marius Georgescu, sets out to uncover proof of energy squandering in the area of Kogalniceanu Square in Bucharest. He visits several shops there and finds proof of such violations as: "An 800 watt radiator functioning nonstop" in a textile shop or "too many operating refrigerators" in a grocery store. The author comes to the conclusion that "such a waste of energy should not be tolerated" and that "no consumer may eschew his duty of actively participating in the overall effort to save electric power."

Another kind of inquiry is undertaken by SCINTEIA of 17 and 21 January on page three: under the headline "How Did Thermal Stations Perform Yesterday?", the daily provides a 600-word block of direct reports from several thermal stations around the country on local achievements and concerns. Here are some of the general conclusions reached: while "serious efforts" are made to increase the electrical power output for consumers, "there are still large discrepancies between planned values and those actually attained" mainly due to "low reserves of coal stocks" and "noncompletion of major repairs on schedule."

In a group of articles and reports totaling some 2,000 words in SCINTEIA of 18 January on page three, Gheorghe Ionita stresses the importance of practical steps to remedy the situation in the energy sector: "order, discipline, and proper organization should be enhanced" everywhere; there should be a "closer cooperation between mines and thermal stations"; and "the transportation of coal to energy stations should be improved."

Both Romanian dailies on 19, 20, and 21 January continue to devote ample space to "sustained efforts to increase electrical power production and make better use of all resources," while noting that "there are still many units with a lower contribution to ensuring the planned power." An example of such a unit is provided by I. Cojocaru in a 1,200-word inquiry in ROMANIA LIBERA of 19 January on page three. The author finds fault with the Paroseni thermal power station of Hunedoara County for having "failed to carry out repair and modernization work in time," something which has led to the nonfulfillment of plan provision. "From Paroseni we expect electrical energy, not justifications," the author concludes.

On the other hand, ROMANIA LIBERA of 22 January devotes most of its page three to successes registered in this sector. In an 800-word article entitled: "Iasi: The Adopted Measures Prove Their Efficiency," Vasile Iancu gives

examples of energy consumption savings in both productive and nonproductive sectors. Radu Picu, the author of another 700-word article entitled: "Miners Increase Coal Production," reports that "the miners of Salaj-Sarmasag mining enterprise have fulfilled and exceeded their main plan indicators" thanks to "proper work organization and diligence on the part of the working personnel."

Beginning with 23 January, the focus on energy seems to have diminished in the Romanian press. SCINTEIA on 23 January and ROMANIA LIBERA on 23 and 24 January continue to carry various items on energy production and conservation questions and to provide graphics on the evolution of "average power outputs in certain coal-based thermal stations"; however, they are mainly at local level and average about 1,500 words per newspaper issue. Thus, Stefan Zidarita reports in a 1,000-word article in ROMANIA LIBERA of 23 January page two on achievements attained by oil workers from various rigs in the "tough battle for oil waged this winter" and a block of four articles totaling 1,000 words in ROMANIA LIBERA of 24 January on page three presents various successes in cutting back consumption in the nonproductive sectors of five counties.

The energetic media campaign employed by Bucharest after the 13 January meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee to inform the public about the energy situation appears to have lost its intensity in recent days; whether this is due to an improvement in this field or to attention being focused on other events--the anniversary of the union of Moldavia and Wallachia on 24 January and Nicolae Ceausescu's birthday on 26 January--remains to be seen. The media campaign thus far, while stressing the urgency of resolute steps to increase energy production and cut down consumption, has lacked the obvious note of distress of the similar campaign in the winter of 1985, when the energy crisis led the government to declare a state of emergency in the country's electrical plants.

/9274

CSO: 2700/140

LCY PRESIDIUUM MEMBER KOROSSEC DISCUSSES ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 87 pp 18-21

[Interview with Stefan Korosec, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, by Mirko Galic and Djuro Zagorac: "At Least Half a Step"; date and place not given]

[Text] DANAS: Comrade Korosec, in the division of labor within Yugoslavia's party leadership you were responsible for one of the key areas, one that at this moment is also one of the most complicated--the economy, the business sector. What are the prospects that the real processes of stabilization will actually begin to take place in 1987?

Korosec: There are several elements, from economic policy to changes in the system, that will influence whether we will initiate processes in the economy. After all, one fact is indisputable, and that is the one one has to begin with: we have been late in carrying out the entirety of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. Because of that tardiness the crisis has deepened at certain sensitive points; it has been spreading to other areas of the life of society. That is why it is difficult to expect that the changes will take place rapidly; they have to be solidly prepared and carried out competently. We will have particular difficulty in turning around the trends in the area of inflation. In the first quarter of 1987 we can expect serious problems, since we are inheriting a high rate of inflation, a declining growth trend of production, and stagnation of exports. We have to be realistic in our expectations: if we halt the negative trends and turn things around at certain of their points, we have achieved quite a bit, especially if we are creating the prerequisites in the system for getting out of the crisis. After all, if we do not achieve that this year, we will have much greater problems in the next 2 years both because of the obligations abroad and also because of the obligation to fulfill people's expectations here in the country.

We have no more time to go on working as we have done.

DANAS: Some of our problems have been occurring because we were not dealing with a realistic picture of the situation. With everything that has been done, including the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee, have the unclear pictures and dilemmas now been cleared up in connection with the lines of development?

Korosec: As far as the picture goes, it is rather realistic at the macroeconomic level. But we still do not have all the financial balances to be able to determine the right moves which ought to be made in the economy. In organizations of associated labor a large portion of income is still fictitious. I know one organization in Slovenia, in Celje, which has been losing money for 3 years running, but the management every year has known how to compute interest in inventories so that every year-end statement has shown a profit. The collective appeared to be exemplary, it was even among the candidates for the Kraigher Prize. But when everything was exposed, it turned out that their losses ran to 800 billion! And an organization with a labor force of 1,100 is being rescued from bankruptcy. You see how distorted the pictures are of organizations of associated labor in some places. We have yet to get the real picture. Only the right solutions in the law on computation of gross income and income will put things in their right place. Who will be receiving a blow to the head? Probably many people if we are consistent. We have to sober up; otherwise we will smother in the drunkenness of an unrealistic situation. If in clearing things up we do not take the real situation in the economy as our point of departure, we will not clear anything up thoroughly, we will not establish a different attitude toward work, toward remuneration, toward creativity.

DANAS: Probably we should also clear up differences in ideological views of matters in dispute, above all self-employment, the private sector, the role of the market, market laws, and so on. Have these differences been cleared up by the recent meeting of the LCY Central Committee?

Korosec: We did not adopt a new program; we only confirmed the Long-Range Program as our social obligation and orientation. Our goal is not only to get out of the economic crisis; our real aim is to speed up development, to come closer to the advanced societies, but still to retain the characteristics of a self-managed society. We are interested in the technology of the advanced countries, but also in our own self-management democracy and humanistic vision of human relations. That is why only those solutions which open up perspectives both for high technology and for advanced self-management are acceptable. We cannot consent only to technological development on behalf of technological development unless that gives us a new quality of life and a new attribute of relations in society. I think that in the meeting of the Central Committee there was no dilemma about our having to develop all the dimensions of the Long-Range Program at one and the same time. How is this to be done? It is very important that we follow the line of real economy, of respect for the market and commodity production, but authentically, in real life, not just in words.

DANAS: Isn't the economic situation such that the Long-Range Program has perhaps already been superseded and needs to be updated?

Korosec: The consequences of tardiness in carrying out the Long-Range Program are very harmful. But that does not jeopardize the program, since it provides an assessment of what got us into this situation and offers a strategy for getting out of it. The basis of that strategy is that we must alter development policy, we must not make the mistakes we have made in the past. We are

now suffering the consequences of those mistakes which led to autarkic development and uncontrolled borrowing. We must be more open within the country, we must break down economic limits, and we must open up to the world. That is a condition of our technological development. The Long-Range Program put many questions; it did not provide full answers or the right answers to all of them. What we have to do is to operationalize that program so that we know more specifically how we are going to apply real economic categories in our life, how we are going to create the prerequisites for the functioning of the market. In principle we have committed ourselves to the market and to respecting economic laws back in the LCY Program. But we lack practical solutions. We have to work on them without fear and without complexes. The Central Committee provided support when the commitment was made to real prices of the factors of production and greater independence of economic entities. If we do not have that independence, we lack the basic prerequisite for the market. If we have to motivate people, we have to give them an opportunity to decide on the plan, on income, on distribution, to decide on personnel, and to make decisions on prices, and to bear all the consequences of those decisions. And third, if we want to stimulate the market economy, we have to undertake to complete construction of the system, not haphazardly, but in keeping with our fundamental commitments, and change those solutions which have not confirmed themselves in practice. There are no good solutions which have had results. They have to be altered or postponed for some other time.

DANAS: What in your opinion are the neuralgic points of our economic system which ought to be changed first?

Korosec: We will be changing something, but not much, in connection with socioeconomic relations. We have to study solutions pertaining to social ownership. We have to seriously confront the question: How are the prerequisites to be brought about for implementing the constitutional conception of social ownership? What social instruments and mechanisms do we need so that workers are motivated to preserve and augment socially owned property? We have to go a step further than what we have today. There are three or four theoretical views, but we need political clarification. The question of distribution is on the same order as the question of ownership. We still do not have a sufficiently established awareness that everyone lives by his work: the individual, the group, the collective, the nationality, and the society as a whole. We would all like to have more than we are earning. There are terrible deformations in distribution. We need social orientations, we need social criteria, spontaneity is prevailing today. How is it possible that the growth of production is slowly dropping, exports are falling off, and yet we have an escalation of personal incomes. We know what comes next: personal incomes put pressure toward inflation. It is a closed cycle. We cannot go on that way any longer. There is also another way that we cannot continue--that of blocking social criteria and discouraging those who are doing good work. Personal incomes have to be related to income, and both have to share the fate of products on the market.

DANAS: What about solidarity? Where is its place?

Korosec: Our basic problem is the low level of efficiency in the conduct of economic activity. If we raise efficiency, and that is possible only through

economic coercion, we will have the conditions for larger incentives, and that also means for people's greater motivation, and at the same time we will have an easier time meeting the requirements of solidarity in a socialist society. Solidarity is our obligation. But even solidarity must be based on a market economy. In today's crisis situation the issue of solidarity is being politically radicalized. Why? Because market criteria have not been constructed, so that whoever is making a contribution thinks that he is throwing it into a bottomless sack, and the one who is getting thinks that he is receiving alms. If we are to avoid such a situation, we have to state where solidarity begins and where it ends. And leave everything else for the market to regulate. Japan also had unsuccessful investment projects, we need not wonder that we have had them. The fact that we have had too many of them is another matter, as well as the fact that some of them occurred because decisions were made voluntaristically. The idea that the government must settle all problems and prescribe how things should be done has not disappeared. It is strong, if not on the surface, then below the surface, and also in one segment of the economy, especially that segment which likes to have the government help it out with the measures of intervention.

DANAS: In view of the appreciable differences in level of development, can the Long-Range Program satisfy equally all the parts of Yugoslavia, and can they all equally stand behind it?

Korosec: I said in the meeting of the Central Committee that the LC is being put to the test by the working class. What I meant to say is that we need to create a political atmosphere in society so that we stop using a druggist's scale to decide who is gaining and who is making a sacrifice in each particular decision. We have always confronted differing interests: it is the business of the conditions created by the system and the activity of the political forces, above all the LC, to see in concrete terms which interests pull us forward and which backward and to decide which interests should be supported and pursued. We cannot get out of this crisis in the old way; that is probably clear to everyone. The League of Communists must select those interests and those solutions which pull us forward and support them; it must open up space for new ideas and new people. If that kind of climate is to be created, we need democratization of relations, both of the party and of society at large. If the LC supports creative critical thinking, it will also develop its own ability to draw clear lines of demarcation around everything that narrows the space for real criticism and real freedom in society in the name of abstract freedoms.

DANAS: The Long-Range Program is now entering its 5th year. You yourself say that it has not yielded the anticipated results. What are the guarantees today that it will be carried out more seriously than in past years?

Korosec: All of us are the guarantee, we know that we have no other way out. Today that awareness is stronger than it was yesterday. It would be an illusion to think that there will not be more attempts to hold on to certain privileges and monopolies in society; it would be an illusion to believe that implementation of the program will not have its victims. We have to be ready, we have to assume conflicts and indeed even social tensions. But we have to pay

the price for getting out of the crisis. Otherwise the price could be much higher.

DANAS: Could it happen that fear of the social consequences would moderate or block implementation of the program? How many workers would have to lose their jobs, how many OUR's would have to go into bankruptcy?

Korosec: There are certain estimates, but they vary widely. We do not have overall estimates. Attention should be paid to one of the estimates that 40-50 percent of organizations of associated labor would incur losses if the new accounting system were introduced. I do not believe that, but I myself cannot offer a different figure. However it turns out, I think that we cannot depart from the basic orientation; vacillation would again encourage those who "get along fine" in any system. It is obvious that we will have to measure our steps, to go neither slowly nor too rapidly and unrealistically. For me personnel have paramount importance. We have talked quite a bit about the elections, but after that we stopped. And yet we need a renewal of personnel, above all in organizations of associated labor. After all, what need do we have for personnel who are not ready to provide a new program, to accept the challenge of technological changes, who are unable to mobilize people around them, who do not have the ability to pull us out of this. I think that it ought to be normal for the management structure to put to a vote of confidence in all organizations of associated labor which have been incurring a loss. But not in such a way that the management structures, the directors and others, who led the organization into losses now go to the representatives abroad. Not a single one of them should go off that way. We already have good specialists abroad; we need to create opportunities for them to display their knowledge, to seek ways of getting out of the crisis. To simplify--create the conditions for these personnel to come back, and for the new generations to remain and to develop. We have to affirm the function of the professional managers, not in the sense of going backward to certain technocratic positions, but in the sense of clear delineation of what belongs to professional management and what belongs to policymaking, and what is pertinent to self-management. And let each be responsible for its own. At present you frequently do not know who is responsible for what. Directors must have social accountability. Along with the rights they are entitled to.

DANAS: Top-level personnel also have to receive top-level remuneration.

Korosec: The large world firms buy ready-made teams. We cannot bring over Americans, Germans, or Japanese. We ourselves must nurture our own teams of specialists. There are encouraging signs that complete teams of young managers are being created. A friend of mine, the director at Iskra, tells me that 75 percent of management personnel in that organization are younger than him. And he is not yet 50. A great deal of knowledge is needed for the new technology. Knowledge that often does not come from textbooks, from professional journals; new knowledge is usually built up in people's heads. It has to be discovered. And paid for. Collectives which have a program and elaborate criteria will easily pay it. But it is more than a matter of payment. Motivation is also a matter that has to do with the value orientations of society. At the present level of development we must take creativity as a value. But at present it still is not contributing to creative thought.

DANAS: You said in a conversation with foreign newsmen that this is a game being played against time. What has to be done so that the game does not go into overtime?

Korosec: Should there be repeated overtimes, we would have immeasurable social consequences. The game has to be pushed forward even though this will not always be popular. Every one of us must take that risk. After all, nothing is achieved by waiting and playing it safe. I do not expect too much, but I do still expect at least half a step this year and a shift in the practical situation. For the better, of course. Especially with respect to inflation, and this through the operation of the system, not through administrative measures. I do not believe that it is possible to halt inflation by administrative methods, by the government. And so far the government has had a large role in the economy, and inflation has grown. Perhaps exactly for that reason. And perhaps exactly because the role of the government measures and their importance have not been properly measured.

DANAS: The contest against time is certainly being played in the area of relations with the world as well. In that case the conditions are not in our favor.

Korosec: Everything does not depend on the external conditions. With this production structure and technological structure we will have a hard time achieving a very essential growth of exports and becoming a part of the world division of labor. We have to begin with ourselves, we have to change the production structure and especially quality, and we have to adapt more rapidly to the technological trends in the world. And all of this we have to do even under difficult external circumstances. In particular we can anticipate that there will be new difficulties in 1987 both concerning the prices of raw materials and also concerning financial conditions. We cannot wait for the conditions to be right for us to alter our economic structure and orientation. We have to do things the other way about. It is not true that the opportunity for that does not exist. Every year we graduate 50,000 from universities and junior colleges. In order to involve them, to use their knowledge, according to some calculations we would have to raise the efficiency of economic activity by one-fifth. With that kind of efficiency we would be more competitive on the world market. The orientation toward exporting is a decisive issue for us. But it cannot be viewed solely as a payments-balance question; its developmental aspect is more important for us. We need to be a part of the world not only in order to repay the debts, but in order to establish ties with the advanced countries. It is clear that we cannot run the technological race in all directions; we have to be selective. And in order to do that we have to decide where we will use foreign knowledge, where we will use our own, and where we will merely keep up with what is happening with world knowledge.

DANAS: Has it been altogether explained what our foreign economic orientation is, does it lean toward the advanced Western world, the Eastern countries, or the developing countries?

Korosec: We need the kind of orientation which suits both our economic needs from the standpoint of goods and from the standpoint of finances, and also one

that suits our commitments in foreign policy. In view of the size of our debt and our need to import technology, the West has to retain at least its present share, and if possible it should be expanded. But we equally need trade and cooperation with the countries of CEMA, and the same applies to the developing countries. The essential thing for us is to maintain balance and not to behave according to the conditions of the moment and short-term interests. We cannot divide the economy so that one segment of it specializes in the bilateral payments area and another in the convertible area. The economy ought to be equipped to go wherever the market is of interest to it, and that means to produce quality that is satisfactory for both the Eastern and Western markets. Up to now one quality has often been produced for the domestic market, another for the Western market, and yet another for the Eastern market, and this has had rather harmful consequences.

DANAS: The present accumulation of our economy is not sufficient to support ambitions in development. How are we to get ahold of the resources? There remain two additional sources: foreign capital or the money which individuals have saved up. In both cases are there ideological dilemmas?

Korosec: The weaknesses in development policy to date have been expressed most of all in the neglect of agriculture and tourism, and especially the small business sector. It is well known that there are two lines of technological development, one through large systems and the other through small-scale economy, small production units. The latter part has been neglected, and with a more highly developed small business we would have an easier time solving the problem of high unemployment and elimination of unprofitable collectives as well. It is no problem when an organization with a labor force of 100 or 150 goes into liquidation; you can start up another one tomorrow. But how are you going to liquidate a collective with a labor force of 1,000 or 2,000?

The resources we possess are scant. We have to obtain additional sources of investment financing. To some extent we will be getting resources in that we will be reducing the obligations of the economy and strengthening its ability to generate capital. At the same time we must do more to stimulate individuals to invest their resources productively. Small business is one of the opportunities for more rapid development. Up to now we have given support at all levels, but the results are modest. That means that practice needs to be changed. And if we are to know what should be changed, we have to seriously evaluate why our results have been so poor. In some countries 40 or 50 percent of the labor force is in small business. But in our country that labor force is only a fraction of that.

DANAS: When you talk about small business, you are not thinking exclusively of the private sector?

Korosec: No, on the contrary, I think that we should first of all examine why the socialized sector of small business is going poorly. There are opportunities in it for structural changes, for creation of new jobs, for rapid adaptation. But we should also appreciate the great importance of small business in the private sector.

We are lagging behind a great deal, not only because of ideological dilemmas, but also because we have not in practice cleared up the way in which private capital is to be invested so as to motivate people. We must also amend regulations. A factory with a labor force of 100 cannot have the same cost structure as something like Rade Koncar or Energoinvest. Today no one is interested in factories that have a labor force under 100. They even stand in the way of establishing them. Whether we like that or not, we must admit that we still have a segment of bureaucratic and dogmatic consciousness; it is afraid of private initiative.

DANAS: Under present circumstances we have a particular need for new initiative, and not only in the private sector.

Korosec: That is true. It is just that some of our business people are not bold enough. Under these unstable conditions it is difficult to evaluate where a project will yield results. They have to be more decisive; we have to stimulate them and encourage them. After all, playing it safe is pulling us backward. And there is a very great deal of playing it safe. Instead of that we should support boldness, boldness but not hastiness, new ideas in creativity.

DANAS: During this year it is certain that the question of people's standard of living will be raised once again. After all, people are more and more beginning to experience the crisis as a crisis of their own standard of living.

Korosec: As for the standard of living, the party must be very responsive. Conditions for conducting economic activity will be more difficult, that cannot be avoided. But we dare not place the burden of the steps that are coming in stabilization on the backs of the workers. For 3 years the real standard of living has been dropping appreciably; last year--we still do not have the final figures on this--real personal incomes rose 10 percent. The problem is that in the context of a high rate of inflation the process of social differentiation that is a concomitant phenomenon of inflation everywhere has deepened; some people are living fantastically and building up a great deal of property, while others who live solely from their labor have fallen to the subsistence level. That fact is accentuating the political dissatisfaction. We can no longer overlook this, we cannot tolerate speculation, unlawfulness, we cannot be satisfied with the situation in which the "gray economy" represents almost 30 percent of the social product. The "gray economy" has in fact had a constructive role to play, it has moderated the drop in the standard of living. But it has become a negative fact as soon as people began to see a better future in the "gray economy" than in the real economy.

DANAS: In conclusion what do you think is decisive to turning around this state of the economy?

Korosec: Orientation toward the market, a different evaluation of labor and the results of labor, a high level of creativity and reaffirmation of saving, instead of a universal rush to spend. We have to create the motivation for that and begin by unlearning our own habits so that in time we would have both a stable currency and saving, financial savings of both individuals and OUR's,

and the necessary resources without which there is no development. And a restoration of confidence. After all, the longer the crisis lasts, the further the lack of confidence spreads. We cannot restore confidence in self-management socialism and in its political forces unless we turn relations around in society, above all in the economy.

7045

CSO: 2800/98

BRIEFS

BELGRADE ECONOMY--The effect of real economic criteria on economic operation as planned in the latest systemic measures will enable only those enterprises to continue operating which are capable of earning extra [ekstra] income. The present situation following application of the Law on Total Revenue and Income shows that total revenue of the Belgrade economy in 1986 is 6 percent less, income 20 percent less, funds spent 2.6 percent less, and capital accumulation 89 percent less. The new calculation, however, increased the reproduction capability of work organizations. This means that there has been a redistribution of existing funds and that more funds for investment have been created at the expense of income. This brings the need for faster consolidation but also the danger of possible crisis, especially when the value of fixed assets, inventories, and unfinished production must now be revalued quarterly...and when it is known that in 1985 there were 233 OUR's (organizations of associated labor) which were operating on the borderline of profitability. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 87 p 3] /9599

STRIKES IN SLOVENIA--The 5-hour work stoppage by 30 workers at the Mezica mine within the KIM (Cooperation Iskra-Mezica) on 16 January was the ninth strike this year in Slovenia; over 500 workers have participated in these strikes. The reasons are: relations in the enterprises and low personal incomes. Thus, the increased number of work stoppages are continuing in 1987. Last year there were over 500 strikes; in the first half of the year 232 strikes were recorded, including 77 protest work stoppages, 46 forced meetings, two cases of passive resistance, and 106 other forms of expressing dissatisfaction with conditions and injustices in OUR's. In contrast to earlier years, strikes last year spread outside work organizations, confirming the mutual solidarity of employees in individual branches. Examples of this occurred in the trade and communications sector, health, education, social and state organs, opstina assemblies, the electric power industry, and mining. Especially indicative are data that show the larger active participation of workers in strikes compared to those who have a passive attitude toward strikes. In some OUR's the work of entire shifts was broken off. In the "Panonija" plant in Murska Sobota 1,000 workers took part in the strike, and 450 workers participated in the strike at the "Iskra-telematica" plant in Kranj. In over 100 OUR's there were more than one strike last year. Slovenia has had the most strikes [of any republic or province] in all periods; e.g.,

in 1984 there were 384 strikes in Yugoslavia as a whole, and 104 in Slovenia alone. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 87 p 9] /9599

BOSNIAN YOUTH ASK ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION--At a 29 January meeting of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, delegates examined a report on environmental protection. Marina Markanovic, delegate from the Republic Conference of the Socialist Youth League, said the report was incomplete and based on old data from 1985 and before, thus, without information on the radiation results following Chernobyl or data on the ecological incident which occurred on 7 December 1986 in Banja Luka when 70 tons of quartz dust was released into the atmosphere. Markanovic said that only 14 percent of the land destroyed by abandoned coal mines had been revitalized. The Republic Conference of the Youth League proposed that further building of the Ugljevik thermal electric power plant be prohibited until the question of sulfur treatment of combustible products be resolved. It suggested that there be a moratorium on building nuclear power plants until a general national discussion is held on this. It also asked that a political and criminal accounting be made by those in opstinas who are responsible for the fact that one-fifth of the republic opstinas have not yet discussed environmental protection. The delegates of the Chamber of Associated Labor concluded that these proposals be sent for further discussion to the executive council of the republic assembly. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 87 p 4] /9599

PRIVATE WORK IN MACEDONIA--There is wide support in Macedonia for the new laws on independent work. The republic executive council has already prepared a draft law on private work and investment which codifies several existing laws regulating artisans, hotel and restaurant businesses, trade, tourism, and transport. The draft law simplifies the procedure for obtaining permits to open artisan and other stores and services; it reduces the number of necessary permits from over 30 to 8 and shortens the time for obtaining permits for private enterprise to just 15 days. Personal funds can now be invested in opening stores to sell textiles, clothing, cosmetics, sports equipment, beverages, rubber goods, and antiques, as well as in the building of private 500-kilowatt electrical power stations. The draft law provides for the possibility of opening up private design and engineering organizations, accounting offices, and other work organizations offering various intellectual services, as well as the opening of private offices for stomatology. Those opening tourist facilities will be permitted to have an unlimited number of beds. Enterprises in the private sector can now employ up to 10 workers and will have considerably alleviated tax obligations. Private taxi and transport businesses will, according to the draft law, be able to accommodate up to 17 passengers. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 87 p 8] /9599

CROATIAN PRIVATE-SECTOR TAX--According to the resolution for this year, Croatia plans to increase the number of persons employed in the private artisan sector from about 97,000 to about 100,000. But a large number of artisan stores are closing in certain Croatian opstinas because of excessive legal [tax] burdens. At a meeting of the association of independent business

people of Croatia which discussed the FEC (Federal Executive Council) and SFRY Assembly conclusions on accelerating the development of the small-scale economy, it was noted that there can be no positive movement in this regard until a unified tax policy is adopted in Croatia. Under the present policy 75 to 85 percent of the income earned by independent businesses is taken away in taxes and the burden is constantly increasing. Under the present policy, the tax burden for artisans will increase this year between 160 and 370 percent. Opstinas remain the major barrier to accelerating the development of small business. For example, Trogir Opstina increased taxes this year 360 percent, while the SAWP president of the opstina asked an increase of even 700 percent. The result: 46 independent artisan businesses closed. A similar situation prevails also in Split, Zadar, Bjelovar, Slavenska Pozega, Vukovar, Osijek, and Zagreb opstinas. [Excerpts] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 6 Feb 87 p 12] /9599

CSO: 2800/131

REPORTAGE ON WHITEHEAD VISIT, TALKS WITH JARUZELSKI

TRYBUNA LUDU Report

AU120933 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Feb 87 p 2

[PAP: "The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Has Concluded Talks in Poland"]

[Text] On 31 January, John C. Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, who had paid a working visit to Warsaw from 28 to 31 January, left Poland.

During the visit there were plenary talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs chaired on the Polish side by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski and on the American side by John C. Whitehead.

The U.S. deputy secretary of state was received by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski and Council of Ministers Chairman Zbigniew Messner.

The talks conducted during John C. Whitehead's working visit possessed an open, useful, and constructive nature.

Each side expressed satisfaction with the renewed political dialogue at government level, despite the continuing differences. The importance of jointly established undertakings meant to encourage an improvement in mutual relations was stressed. In the immediate future, this purpose will be served by, among other things, a start on negotiations concerning a scientific-technological cooperation agreement, parliamentary exchange, and a start on activity aimed at reviving the Joint Polish-American Trade Commission.

The American side reported on the renewal of its participation in the Poznan Fair.

The subject of the talks was also basic problems concerning the international situation.

The working visit by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead was another step toward the normalization and improvement of bilateral relations between Poland and the United States of America.

Whitehead Statement to Press

AU120934 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Feb 87 p 2

[Text] PAP--On leaving Warsaw John C. Whitehead made a statement to the press. He described his visit to Poland as constructive and fruitful. I would like to express my praise for the Polish authorities' hospitality and for the program prepared for me he said. The U.S. deputy secretary of state stressed that during his stay in Warsaw he had been able to meet with representatives of various segments of society.

I was also able, he said, to learn more about Polish culture, tour the rebuilt Old City, and pay homage to the defenders of Warsaw and to the victims of the ghetto uprising. I also visited the "Polkolor," which is an example of successful Polish-U.S. cooperation.

My visit, he continued, represented some of the efforts to restore better relations with Poland. I hope that it contributed toward improving these relations.

During our official talks we evaluated the progress that we had made in this direction and we discussed a program for the future. On my return to Washington I will report to the secretary of state about my observation, John C. Whitehead said in conclusion.

Catholic Daily Commentary

AU090947 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 3 Feb 87 pp 1, 2

[Kryzstof Wegierko commentary: "Moderate Optimism"]

[Text] John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, left Warsaw after a 3-day official visit on 31 January. His visit was no surprise, because it had been announced some months previously. Nevertheless, international public opinion received it with considerable attention. The very fact that a visit by a ranking U.S. representative did occur after a rather murky interval of several days is a sufficient reason for this interest.

I hope I am not mistaken if I say that Polish public opinion has become optimistic. Bearing in mind the notorious restrictions that have been in force for over 5 years now and that have had a damaging effect on the Polish economy and, to some extent, on our political prestige, I think that the evidence that Polish-American relations may normalize is bound to create satisfaction. The primary expression of these hopes is not so much a manna of loans as the expectation that the lasting injustice that has groundlessly been inflicted on our country by that great and rich power will be repaired.

This is because we have to remember that Poland has found itself vis-a-vis the United States in a situation that is unusual for normal diplomatic relations. Poland has been treated to a typical [swoisty] ultimatum. Let us recall the basic facts. In March 1981, that is, 8 months prior to martial law, Ronald Reagan, the new U.S. president, openly said in an interview for THE WASHINGTON POST that food assistance for Poland would depend on events (?). He said that

it would be much easier to positively respond to an appeal in this regard if the Polish Government did not act against the nation. This interview went hand in hand or rather had been preceded for several months by a campaign of press speculation on "encouraging" subjects such as, for example, what would happen if Poles began to fight against the Soviet Army, what should NATO do in such a case, and how to exploit the Polish crisis in order to weaken the USSR.

Not quite 2 weeks after the proclamation of martial law, President Reagan announced to the world how he had decided to punish the Polish Government. The punishment involved "the suspension of the crucial elements of economic relations with Poland," the halting of the loans guaranteed by import-export banks, the termination of their air link accord, banning Polish fishing boats from the American waters, banning the export of high technology, and strictly limiting scientific-cultural contacts.

The president also appealed to the U.S. allies to follow in his footsteps. In October 1982, an additional and especially painful blow was struck: Poland was excluded from the most-favored-nation-treatment clause, which applies to some 90 percent of America's trade partners. This deprived our goods of competitiveness in the U.S. market. Of course, the loan of \$800 million that Congress had granted us prior to 11 December 1981 was totally frozen.

Diplomatic relations were not terminated, but the diplomatic missions of our two countries have been run by charges d'affaires and not by ambassadors since 11 December 1981. This is abnormal for diplomatic relations, and such a state of affairs had never occurred before, not even during the cold war.

Some economic restrictions have been gradually lifted—the ban on fishing and the air link. But these are economically minor matters. The main burden of harassment continues to weight us down. Can we hope that this burden will be removed? probably yes. The indications to this effect include the circumstances of the Whitehead visit and the diplomatic preparations preceding it. However, a grain of skepticism is not out of place for the following three reasons:

First, the visit does not indicate that affairs will soon be restored to their previous state. Decisions will be made at the summit. It is easier to lift restrictions than to reestablish them, and the United States is in no hurry. [sentence as published] Except for segments of public opinion, there is no pressure on the United States to this effect.

Second, the principle of something for something as applied to negotiations is as old as the hills. It is we who bear the burden of these restrictions, and not the United States. Economic arguments are one-sided. When imposing the restriction, the administration was in no way embarrassed to indicated that it wanted to exploit its economic superiority as a political ace card. When it is difficult to find a common denominator, the negotiations are bound to be complicated.

Third, let us assume that everything will be restored to the previous condition and that we will again become a normal partner to the United States. But how to regain the lost position in such difficult markets?

The kind gentleman who has just left Warsaw hinted (at last) that things would change for the better. His visit was of dual nature—practical and moral. But let us beware of excessive optimism. Uncle Sam's beard is his only attribute that resembles Santa Claus.

The Americans have this political saying: The Americans have something mightier than the nuclear bomb--they have proteins. Ronald Reagan's understanding of this is wider, but equally ruthless. Out of economic might he has forged a weapon, which, it is true, he uses with unequal success, but which he uses more keenly, the more susceptible a partner to it is.

That is why I prefer to look at the self-same and certainly expected visit with moderate enthusiasm, because good news is never really as good and bad news is never really as bad as it seems at the first hearing.

Daily Quotes U.S. Press on Visit

AU090900 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Feb 87 p 7

[Dispatch signed 'Z.b.': "The U.S. Press on Whitehead's Visit to Poland"]

[Text] In dispatches by Jackson Diehl and Michael T. Kaufmann, the WASHINGTON POST and NEW YORK TIMES inform American public opinion about the results of the talks between John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, and Wojciech Jaruzelski and other members of the Polish leadership. The WASHINGTON POST carries a picture of Jaruzelski's talk with Whitehead.

Diehl writes that agreement was expressed "for a series of new political and economic contacts between Poland and the United States meant to thaw the 5-year freeze in relations." He stresses that Whitehead is the administration's most senior representative to have officially met Polish leaders for 5 years.

A senior American official accompanying Whitehead told Western journalists in Warsaw the following, referring to his talks outside the government sphere: "We received no surprises as far as the sanctions are concerned. Nobody expressed to Whitehead any views against an improvement in U.S.-Polish relations." In this context, the above official mentioned, among other, Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, as the one who had spoken out in front of Whitehead in favor of lifting the restrictions.

NEW YORK TIMES correspondent Kaufman writes that a new expression has emerged in Warsaw--"a renewed involvement in dialogue." He says that "this is progress along the dialouge path that was renewed at the level in Vienna in November 1986" (referring to the meeting between Anne Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, and Jan Kinast, PPR under-secretary of state for foreign affairs).

Referring to Whitehead's visit, the WASHINGTON POST carried an editorial on Monday calling on the United States to lift the last two restrictions against Poland. Though the daily supports in principle the sanctions that were imposed in December 1981, it stresses that "they have harmed the people they were meant to serve" and that "they should be lifted quickly."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Commentary

AU090935 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Feb 87 p 4

[Zbigniew Ramotowski commentary: "Towards An Improvement"]

[Text] A dialogue at governmental level has been established. Joint undertakings have been agreed: Negotiations on the conclusion of an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation will begin shortly; a parliamentary exchange; and the commencement of steps to reactivate the Polish-American Trade Commission. The American side provided information about the resumption of its participation in the Poznan International Trade Fair....

These were the tangible results produced by the recent visit paid to Poland by John C. Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state.

However, assessments of visits of this kind cannot be limited to an evaluation of concrete decisions concerning today and the very near future. Rather more is involved: a climate, and the outlining of prospects. This is because an improvement in the state of mutual PPR-U.S. relations is not a one-shot act but a process that requires time, patience, and an approach to the removal of remaining differences agreed by both sides.

Differences do exist; this is clear in the light of recent years. However, it emerges from the position of both sides that there is a belief in the need to eliminate these differences. Both Whitehead and his Polish hosts expressed satisfaction with the resumption of dialogue at governmental level, and the talks were described as "open, useful, and constructive." This fact, like the reception of the American administration's representative by the chairman of the State Council speaks for itself.

The Polish aspect of the visit: the visit confirmed that the frequently voiced desire for a normalization of relations with Western countries, including the United States, was not just a rhetorical phrase. These declarations remain valid. They are a lasting principle of Polish foreign policy. Our country--the recent dialogue with Italy, the Vatican, and Japan are but one example of this--desires cooperation with everyone--on the basis of mutual respect, partnership, and mutual advantage.

Boniecka Assessment

AU121048 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Feb 87 p 4

[Ewa Boniecka commentary: "A Time For Conclusions"]

[Text] Since the visit by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, viewed as a step toward an improvement in America's relations with Eastern Europe, especially Poland, opinion-forming circles in Washington are putting on the pressure to draw further conclusions in the sphere of political and economic policy. For example, the NEW YORK TIMES wrote in an editorial that the time had come "for the United States to lift the remaining sanctions against Poland."

At a 1 and 1/2 hour meeting between Whitehead and heads of NATO delegations in Brussels after the end of his East European trip, he described his talks in Warsaw, Prague, and Sofia as good. He said: "I listened and learned, and also explained American Policy." Washington realizes that it is far behind its West European allies as far as the development of relations with individual socialist states is concerned, and that this situation is harmful to U.S. interests.

The old principles of American policy toward Eastern Europe based on a so-called balanced approach toward individual countries in this region remain in force. However, there is no doubt that the present administration's aggressive stream of anticommunist rhetoric accompanying attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of these states has been silenced, which is connected with the general development of East-West dialogue.

Though important, Whitehead's visit itself does not mean that summer is already here. Only actions and practical steps will permit further progress in mutual relations. This applies especially to the administration's policy toward Poland. This is understood by American public opinion, which is demanding the removal of the remaining sanctions against Poland, in other words, restoring to Poland the most-favored-nation clause and government guarantees for credits for export purposes. The abovementioned NEW YORK TIMES editorial reflects this.

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CSO: 2600/361

TV COMMENTS ON UPCOMING PREMIERE OF 'AMERIKA'

LD050946 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2005 GMT 3 Feb 87

[Commentary by Piotr Gorecki, no video available]

[Excerpt] On 15 February the premiere is scheduled of the serial entitled "Amerika." According to the scenario, this country no longer exists. It has been conquered by the Soviet Union and its allies. The United States has been defeated thanks to a conspiracy of communists, who have taken control of the United Nations and who, after establishing special military detachments, have commenced occupation of this country. We have already become accustomed to the fact that there are forces in the United States for whom the Soviet Union is the work of Satan and is the empire of evil. President Reagan himself has used such phraseology; indeed, once during a microphone test he said that he had already given the order for that empire to be destroyed.

This time, however, conservative U.S. circles—in keeping with their own ideology of chauvinism and anticommunism—have also found an enemy in the UN Organization. This world parliament, though sometimes for various reasons it may not work as well as it might, is nonetheless considered by the overwhelming majority of international public opinion to fulfill a significant role in the contemporary world. This, however, did not deter the makers of the film or their sponsors. One should add that the Amerika serial is produced by the largest television network in the United States, ABC, the same network which in 1983 produced the shattering film, The Day After. The things that were said then about the ABC after the film's premiere by some Americans, who treated the producers as crypto-communists and betrayers of the free world, contributed towards the making of the new serial. Here, the United States is not the joint cause of the war, but its victim. And who is the aggressor? We have already [said]. One can ponder on the morality of the ABC network, but should one speak of morality at all here?

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CSO: 2600/361

GOVERNMENT ASSESSES FOREIGN TIES, TRADE

LD232055 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 23 Jan 87

[Text] Warsaw, 23 January—The Council of Ministers met here today to discuss Poland's foreign policy and international activity. The participants also reviewed and summed up Poland's relations with foreign countries in 1986 and looked at the main tasks and goals for the present year. The activities undertaken in favor of creating exterior conditions favourable for the development of Poland, increasing the country's security, prestige and international position were also evaluated.

It was confirmed that the previous year was characterized by activation of Poland's foreign policy, which corresponded to the basic national interests and developing needs of the country. Poland's position among the socialist countries grew considerably. The positive effect of these factors, combined with the internal political and economic stabilization, brought about the further strengthening of Poland's international position. In this context, the Council of Ministers pointed to the significance of top-level contacts with the leaders of the socialist countries, including the talks between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev.

The visits paid earlier this month by Wojciech Jaruzelski to Italy and the Vatican, and by Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to Poland, were evidence of Poland's growing position in the world.

The state of relations with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries was very highly evaluated by the Council of Ministers which said that special mention was due to Poland's contribution to preserving peace and security, strengthening the socialist community, increasing economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the socialist countries.

It was stressed that Poland's activities on the international scene and the realization of the tasks facing Poland's foreign policy in 1987 will be conducted in a difficult international situation, caused mainly by the course of American policies and the ensuing endangerment of peace and international security.

Multi-lateral relations with the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community will be expanded.

Poland will actively and consistently participate in the formulation, propagation and realization of proposals which lead to the strengthening of international security and peaceful cooperation, especially in Europe.

Poland is interested in the development of mutually beneficial relations with the capitalist countries with observance of the rules of partnership, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

Attention was also given to the possibility of increasing contacts and cooperation with the developing countries.

The Council of Ministers reviewed and accepted the main lines of Poland's foreign policy.

The participants acquainted themselves with a report on Wojciech Jaruzelski's official visit to Italy and determined that its results allow us to expect an expansion of contacts between Poland and Italy with the prospect that they achieve a model shape for the good of peace and cooperation in Europe.

The president of the Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to the Vatican was highly assessed by the council. The convergence of goals in defending peace and halting the arms race favours the growth of cooperation between Poland and the Vatican for the cause of democratic and detente tendencies in international relations.

The participants also read a report on the results of Yasuhiro Nakasone's official visit and stressed the role of highest-level contacts in the broad scale of east-west relations.

The Council of Ministers discussed the subject of foreign trade, coming to the conclusion that increasing exports, especially to hard-currency countries, is one of the essential tasks for the whole national economy. In view of the gradual and steady fall in the supply of natural resources for export, the inflow of dollars to our country must be increased through the bigger export of highly-processed goods and by increasing the effectiveness of the exchange with foreign partners.

In tune with the central annual plan for 1987, the turnover of Poland's foreign trade will grow by 5.2 percent in the area of exports and by 4.6 percent in imports, it said.

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CSO: 2020/56

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES UN SUPPORTERS

AU270930 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 87 p 2

[Text] PAP--On 21 January, State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski received representatives of the Polish Society of UN Associates. The representatives were: Zbigniew M. Klepacki, president; Ryszard Lowniczak, chairman of the main board and deputy chairman of the World Federation of UN associates (WFUNA); and Andrzej Nartowski, chairman of this federation's main board.

The guests informed the State Council chairman about the work of the society, which has existed since 1946 and is a founder member of the World Federation of UN Associates (WFUNA). The society propagates the principles of the UN Charter; publicizes the idea of peace and international security, disseminates knowledge about the creative contribution of Polish diplomacy and political thought to the work of the United Nations, and activates social support for PPR foreign policy and its peace initiatives. Recently, the society diffused information on the initiatives which Wojciech Jaruzelski presented at the 40th session of the UN General Assembly, including the proposal to set up an international debt and development research center in Krakow.

The State Council chairman expressed recognition for the society's useful work.

Tadeusz Olechowski, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also attended.

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CSO: 2600/361

VIETNAM CP OFFICIAL ON WARSAW BLOC MEETING

AU301527 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 87 p 9

[Interview given by Dao Duy Tung, Communist Party of Vietnam Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, to TRYBUNA LUDU staffers Zbigniew Lesnikowski and Piotr Rządca in Warsaw: "We Are Counting on Development of Cooperation"--date not specified; first paragraph is newspaper's introduction]

[Text] In the corridors of Warsaw's Victoria Hotel we spoke to several of those who participated in the recent conference of Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal socialist countries that took place there. Our next interviewee is Comrade Dao Duy Tung, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV].

[Lesnikowski, Rządca] How do you view the state and prospects of ideological cooperation between the PZPR and CPV, Comrade Secretary?

[Dao Duy Tung] We are very pleased with the present state of this. As for the prospects, I believe the Warsaw conference of Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal parties has been a stimulus for tighter bonds. This involves both richer contents and broader forms of joint activity based on an exchange of experience in various spheres. I have in mind the organization of party work itself, the joint training of cadres, better work by propaganda centers, an exchange of lecturers, and so on.

We have always attached great importance to the PZPR's interesting and valuable experience in ideological work. Today as well it is very useful for us to avail ourselves of this experience.

[Lesnikowski, Rządca] This is not your first visit to Poland. How do you view your country on the threshold of 1987?

[Dao Duy Tung] Indeed, this is my third visit since 1978. I also monitored your party's ideological activity during previous visits. Today we are particularly interested in the political and social stabilization in your country, and we are also closely watching the economic reform and the struggle against the imperialist policy of economic restrictions against Poland. You already have valuable achievements in all these spheres. Therefore, our interest in expanding direct cooperation between Vietnamese and Polish institutions involved in broadly-conceived ideological work is all the greater. I mean cultural premises, party schools, artistic associations--and the press, radio, and television. I think we should improve cooperation in all these spheres so that we can achieve even better results.

There will certainly be no lack of common topics of interest. We will attempt to translate into Vietnamese some of your theoretical and political works, as well as literary works and books on science and technology. I would consider presenting both the achievements and the difficulties accompanying the defense and development of our peoples as a particularly important path of cooperation. In this connection we hold the Polish comrades in high esteem, especially writers like Monika Warnenska, who spent many years in our country and wrote over 10 books about Vietnam.

[Lesnikowski, Rzacca] The approaching Hanoi conference will be the next opportunity to revive the contacts between the socialist countries' party presses.

[Dao Duy Tung] We expect a lot from this event. Already in April in our capital there will be a meeting of editors-in-chief of socialist countries' party newspapers. We will discuss various matters concerning the carrying out of the decisions reached at the Warsaw conference of Central Committee secretaries. We would like our guests to share with us the experience that permits a close correlation between these papers and life itself.

I am convinced that the Hanoi meeting will serve to tighten the contacts between our party Central Committee organs NHAN DAN and TRYBUNA LUDU. Our journalistic cooperation is bound to expand in line with the traditional warm bonds joining Poland and Vietnam, and the PZPR and CPV.

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CSO: 2600/361

BULGARIAN OFFICIAL VIEWS BLOC SECRETARIES MEETING

AU292118 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 87 p 6

[Interview given by Milko Balev, BCP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to TRYBUNA LUDU correspondents Abigniew Lesnikowski and Piotr Rządca in Warsaw, date not given: "This Was A Necessary and Important Meeting"—first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] We have interviewed several participants of the recent conference of Central Committees secretaries of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries in the corridors of the Hotel Victoria, where the meeting took place. Today, our interviewee is Milko Balev, BCP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

[Lesnikowski, Rządca] This has been a particularly important and necessary meeting. I would even say that it was indispensable, in view of when our meeting took place in the capital of fraternal Poland. This conference of Central Committee secretaries for ideological and international affairs took place after the 27th CPSU Congress and other fraternal party conferences, which carried out a profound analysis of the changes taking place in the world of socialism.

Also, as far as the international situation is concerned, last year brought qualitative changes. All our parties and every socialist state made a huge effort to preserve world peace. A particular contribution was made by the Soviet Union, which did not spare efforts to rescue peace and save mankind from the specter of nuclear apocalypse.

Our present conference was devoted to these very issues. It reflected the mood of last year's Moscow meeting of generals and first secretaries of our parties. We examined important current problems concerning international relations and the life and work of our societies. We spoke of the need to enhance political, economic, cultural, and ideological cooperation.

The meeting with Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski on the first day of the conference made a great impression on us. His information gave us a comprehensible and realistic picture of your country's situation and depicted the tasks set by the 10th PZPR Congress and their stage of implementation. I think there are good prospects for intensive cooperation between the BCP and PZPR, which

are devoting much effort to problems of economic growth, the development of socialist democracy, and the better satisfaction of human needs. A solid basis for this cooperation was provided by the meetings between the two leaders, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Wojciech Jaruzelski. We will develop this basis.

But coming back to my assessment of the conference itself, it is worth saying that although there was frost and snow outside, our meeting possessed a warm and friendly atmosphere stemming from the nature of the relations joint our parties. The complexity of the problems posed by life gave the talks a high temperature. We finished the conference with the feeling of even greater faith in the success of our joint cause and in the progress taking place in each of our fraternal socialist countries.

[Lesnikowski, Rządca] What in your opinion illustrates the ability to combine the values of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution?

[Balev] It would be very bad if we did not possess this ability. It is an objective necessity. In order to build socialism one must implement a scientific-technological revolution. Our leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, stressed this because it is a matter of huge importance for Bulgaria.

I wish to stress at this point two aspects of the issue you are asking about. First, it is necessary to protect historical stage. Every departure from the norm and every case of routine and stagnation could cost us dearly. Too dearly. Neither, and this is the second aspect, can one ignore the role of the subjective factor in implementing the scientific-technological revolution. Commitment and dedication to socialism on their own are not enough. What is also needed is a high level of competence, in other words increasingly greater knowledge and an increasingly greater scope of abilities. This applies especially to people who gain this knowledge, our young generation.

[Lesnikowski, Rządca] What language should we speak to this generation? How should we convey to it our experiences and encourage it to help create new socialist values that suit the 21st century?

[Balev] I believe that the above transfer of the baton during a relay race is performed most easily when representatives of these generations work and act together, shoulder to shoulder. As far as the joint generation of new values is concerned, I think it is essential to be fully aware of the needs of young people and the nature of these needs, in other words it is essential to know how to understand young people. For a country that is performing revolutionary tasks, youth is not a shortcoming, it is a value.

That is also why we in Bulgaria pay so much attention to young people. For a country that is performing revolutionary tasks, youth is not a shortcoming, it is a value.

That is also why we in Bulgaria pay so much attention to young people. We value them and are pleased with them, which of course does not mean that we fail to notice negative phenomena both among the young people themselves and

in our work with them. Our party is trying to help young people solve their problems. We are encouraging them toward greater cooperation in running the country, and together with them we are working on the shaping of attitudes and on restructuring social conditions so that everyone, including the young generation, can be assured of a worthy and valuable life.

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CSO: 2600/361

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES MERITORIOUS STUDENTS

AU261551 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 87 p 2

[Text] PAP—Addressing a group of students, winners of the Mikolaj Kopernik Science and Social Work Competition, at a discussion at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 21 January, State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski said that by your own personal example and excellent results in science and social work, you are winning over those of the same age as you who insist that there is not much to be done in Poland. The truth is different—very much can be done.

Poland is a country with a great intellectual potential. That is our greatest reserve and hope. It is pleasing that several age-groups of young people who are very well educated and believe in their own strength have appeared once more.

It appears from what you have said that the situation in some colleges is still complicated. They have achieved considerable independence and self-management in recent years. However, one can see that there are still differences in the quality of teaching between different schools. These are mainly subjective difficulties which have to be overcome.

Against the background of the information presented today on the subject of poor quality work and results, I wish to stress that the struggle for quality is one of our most important tasks. This applies not only to the proverbial shoes, but also to books, building designs, and official documents. The quality of these depends on people who normally possess higher education and hold responsible positions. Therefore, it is their particularly important task to fight the mediocrity which has spread so much. Quality also possesses its patriotic dimension. Following a period of all kinds of boycotts and blockades, we are firmly entering the international arena. But one cannot get through to the world by visits alone, one has to do so by means of a greater contribution to science and by a better quality of products and services which improve the picture of Poland. Therefore, the point is to form a climate of personal responsibility for Poland and its future.

W. Jaruzelski thanked the participants for their above average in science and for their social activity. He expressed the conviction that they will be useful for the country and will achieve much personal satisfaction at the same time. He wished them personal success and the satisfaction of their creative interests, and asked them to convey his congratulations and thanks to their parents and teachers.

KINAST RECEIVES LATIN AMERICAN ENVOYS

LDO30020 Warsaw PAP in English 2058 GMT 2 Feb 87

[Text] Warsaw, 2 February—Jan Kinast, the Polish Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, received here today, at their request, the ambassadors of: Mexico, Carlos Gonzales Parrodi; Colombia, Alvaro Escallon Villa; Peru, Maria Salazar Castellanos, and the Charges D'affaires a.i. of: Uruguay, Susana Rivera; Venezuela, Jacinta Anato de Bevilacqua; and Argentina, Fernando Oscar Ibarra Garcia.

The diplomatic representatives presented the text of a communique by the foreign ministers of the Contadora Group and the support group member countries which was adopted on 21 January 1987 following a peace mission to five Central American countries (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, and el Salvador).

The communique says, among other things, that the situation in Central America has become very tense. It also contains an appeal to "all the parties, directly or indirectly engaged in this conflict, to abstain from using force and stop all actions which hamper the negotiation process, which is the only effective road towards peace, so needed by all the Central American countries."

Giving thanks for the document, Deputy Minister Kinast expressed grave concern over the further escalation of the conflict in Central America, stating that Poland invariably supports a peaceful settlement of the crisis, and in view of this, supports the activities of the Contadora and support group countries. This support was frequently given on different forums and it will continue, Kinast said.

"We are convinced that the solution of the severe crisis in Central America should be reached through peaceful negotiations involving all parties concerned, with observance of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right of every nation to determine the road of its development," Kinast stressed.

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CSO: 2020/56

GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN JERZY URBAN HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCES

13 January

AU221117 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Jan 87 p 4

["Transcript" of press conference given to foreign journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 13 January]

[Excerpts] Dag Halvorsen, ARBEIDERBLADET of Norway: Are there any price rises due this year? If so, what and when?

Second, is the abolition of meat rationing being considered? The market was quite well-stocked with meat over Christmas and it seems there is more meat on the market.

Urban: I think I spoke about price rises at the last conference.

A price rise of about 9 percent is envisaged this year. It is also envisaged that the effects of last year's price rises will total several percent. All in all, therefore, prices will increase by about 14 percent, not counting cigarettes and liquor, which have been excluded from the balance of prices.

This year's plan also discusses essential price rises of particular importance, such as electricity and coal. I cannot provide any further details for the time being, but whenever possible, and at the right time, we will report on the price rises planned for this year. In particular, we will be able to report on official price rises, those set by the state administration.

The question of abolishing meat rationing has been considered for a long time. This does not mean that we are on the verge of abolishing meat rationing, even if animal breeding results are positive.

One must consider the social aspect of the matter, the fact that most of society is opposed to the abolition of meat rationing.

Second, abolishing meat rationing requires not only a very detailed balance of costs, but also a very detailed animal breeding forecast, so that abolishing meat rationing does not give rise to procurement difficulties.

There are various concepts of gradually abolishing rationing or abolishing it all at once. These concepts will be the subject of consultations. Generally

speaking, no abolition is envisaged this year. After all, abolition calls for consultations on the subject of meat prices. If abolition of rationing were not accompanied by a certain price rise, there would be difficulties with procuring meat, as was the case at the end of the seventies, to say nothing of 1980 and 1981.

Leszek Pawlowicz, CBS news: Last Saturday at the market square in Wroclaw there was an ecology demonstration, the kind of Western demonstration that we often see on Polish Television. I cannot describe exactly the way in which everything happened because I was on the other side of the square and my papers were being checked, but every 2 minutes I could hear cries of "we want clean water," after which the young people were put into militia vehicles. There were over a dozen militiamen for every demonstrator.

Later, having nothing better to do and not even having had enough time to take our cameras out, we went to the department store. When we returned to our car, we met the very same people who had examined our papers earlier. They now told us to follow them to the militia station, to which they escorted us with lights flashing and sirens blaring. We were held there for 1 and 1/2 hours. I tried to find out why, but no one could give an answer.

All this indicates some terrible nervousness which I fail to understand. I think the whole thing involves a capitalist steelworks. As you yourself once admitted, the question of water pollution is a hot one and is discussed in the papers. Then why this excessive nervousness and why all these safety measures, even the apprehension of journalists who were on the other side of the street and did not even have time to take their cameras out?

Urban: There was no reason for nervousness and there was no nervousness in the actions of the militia. On 10 January, at about 1050 in Kuznicza Street in Wroclaw, there was an assembly of 25 members of an illegal political structure, whose purpose was to use the public discussion over the future of the Siechnice Steelworks and its bad effects on the environment as a pretext for a demonstration. Because these people did not disperse when asked to do so by the militia, they committed an offense and were first detained and then sentenced by a misdemeanor court.

Let us proceed to the heart of the matter, in other words the Siechnice Steelworks. To put it briefly, this is not a large capitalist steelworks as you say it is, but is perhaps of capitalist origin because it is old. Unfortunately it is a problem shared by the socialist authorities. It does indeed pollute the environment, but it has never been established how much. But public opinion is not always credible. Indeed, considerable pollution can be noticed in Wroclaw. But just because the voice of the people says that the source of this pollution is the steelworks does not mean that it is the main source, though I do not deny that it is one source. The Polish Academy of Sciences in Zabrze is preparing an investigation, which will be examined by the ministry. On this basis, the fate of the steelworks will be decided. The state authorities will certainly not allow the steelworks to continue to function this way. However, the decision can take one of two courses: modernization or closure.

Pawlowicz: Excuse me, but that is not the answer to my question. Why are journalists who happen to be returning to their cars whisked off to militia stations?

Urban: I cannot give an answer because I do not know the chain of events. However, taking advantage of your question, I have tried to present socially important matters.

Kat Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: Mr Minister, General Jaruzelski is in Rome today and he is expected to invite the pope to Poland in June. I would like to know the estimated cost of this visit, especially in comparison with his last visit. Because the pope is being invited by the Polish Episcopate and by the state and government, I would like to know how the costs of the visit will be shared between both sides. Finally, I would like to ask whether the state would consider the possibility of recouping part of the costs by means of such economic ventures as T-shirts with slogans or other souvenirs of this visit, like in other countries.

Urban: We have no idea of the costs of the visit and I cannot compare them with the costs of the previous one. No investigation into the costs has been made yet because the program of the visit is not yet established. It is too early for this.

For a long time, I was unable to present the full costs of the pope's last visit. The costs are so divided among various state, church, and local institutions and enterprises and are so varied that an itemization of them all is very difficult.

How are the costs shared between the church and state? I think the precedent set by the last visit will be applied, whereby it was decided in advance what the state would pay for and what the church would pay for. There was an amicable agreement as to this, and since it was successful, I believe this precedent will be repeated.

I do not remember the nature of the agreement, it was a very detailed one and I do not remember the details. What is important is that the costs are shared by both sides.

To answer your question about T-shirts and other souvenirs, please note that mementoes such as plates and statuettes of Pope John Paul II are to be found in numerous shops. As a passerby, I can only feel embarrassment at the artistic quality of this peculiar category of products.

I welcome the fact that a press conference is being used to suggest to us economic initiatives. However, one must realize that custom and tradition here are somewhat different from those in other countries. T-shirts with an image of the pope could shock some people. I think that if the press carries your appeal, some producer might be interested. I however, represent the government, not the souvenir industry.

Before we finish, I would like to say a few words about some shocking aspects of the BBC's activities. The BBC has one of its correspondent's here. This

should help to clarify ideas about Poland or instill some elementary sense into what the radio station has to say about Poland. The BBC broadcasts Polish-language newscasts that I would like to have submitted for evaluation by Polish public opinion. This applies only to some reports, reports broadcast recently by a Polish-language radio station that is considered relatively moderate in its attacks on Poland or at least less biased than other Polish-language radio stations.

At the last press conference I spoke about the results of the 17 July Amnesty Act. I provided some data. The radio station broadcast that I has said that 71,500 people availed themselves of the amnesty and went on to say--in a report from Warsaw, as was stressed during the program--that these figures would probably be questioned by opposition groups. Thus, we are dealing with rather more than the radio station contradicting obvious facts, which those who provide information to foreign journalists secretly submit for denial. We are dealing with the assumption that these facts must be called into question although no one has done so. The BBC report goes on to say that relatively few political prisoners, a total of 225, were beneficiaries of the amnesty. It could be concluded from this that there were significantly more prisons of this kind. Quite simply, there were few of them, therefore, the number was not very great.

Then, all the figures that we provided were viewed in a relative light. The Polish Government maintained that so many people presented themselves to the militia and promised to stop engaging in illegal activities. The radio station went on to sum up this piece of news as follows: "It is believed that 70,000 of the people covered by the amnesty are ordinary criminals.

Of course they were ordinary criminals. It is just that I believe that a representative of the BBC has been sitting in this hall for many years so as not to suggest to the British public that there were tens of thousands of so-called political prisoners. I would, after all, draw a distinction between offences of a noncriminal and an ordinary kind.

And here is another example of the radio station's peculiar way of reasoning.

I quote the BBC: "An insight into the authorities' way of thinking is provided by a statement made by Jerzy Urban at last Friday's press conference. As the government spokesman explained, a policy of support for civic initiatives and co-participation does not mean the acceptance of every project without having analyzed its usefulness." The radio station considers this practice to be something strange about Poland, something that attests to distortions in the thinking of the Polish authorities. I do not suppose that the British Government accepts every project that comes its way from whatever person without examining its usefulness. This is something quite absurd.

Finally, on 6 January the BBC offers the conjecture, shortly after the British press did so, that Leszek Moczulski, who is now in Britain, could only leave Poland because of "pressure from Moscow" in his favor.

Now we really are reaching the height of surrealism.

This is no mistake, this is no error, the BBC offers the conjecture--excuse me, that is, I am quoting Moczulski. But a self-respecting radio station does some selecting and does not just broadcast what is mumbled by someone who does not know what he is talking about and a radio station should distinguish this from a sensible statement from whatever point of view. Thus, the radio station quoted Mr Moczulski's opinion that "it was pressure from Moscow rather than General Jaruzelski's goodwill that led to his finally receiving a passport."

If somebody is a megalomaniac of this kind and believes that talks are held between the head of the Polish state and Moscow on the subject of a trip to England for medical treatment then that is his affair, a matter that, at most, suggests that the medical treatment ought to be more extensive than that which the radio station reported. However, if the BBC considers Moczulski's opinions worth broadcasting to Poland, then I would like to ask whether this is a case of providing information or the persistent churning out of any old nonsense to stir up trouble in Poland. That is all. Thank you.

20 January

AU292017 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jan 87 p 4

["Transcript" of the 20 January press conference held by Jerzy Urban for foreign and Polish journalists in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Krzysztof Pilawski, SZTANDAR MŁODYCH: Commenting last week on the happening organized by some Italian citizen in the Warsaw Old Market, you said that the happening was an attempt to introduce foreign folklore to the Warsaw scene. Would you say the same about Marek Kotanski's action to distribute soup for the poor, hungry, and freezing people in Warsaw?

Urban: I know nothing about such an action and am unable to comment on it.

Maria Goc, Radio Polonia: Minister, is it true that General Jaruzelski's daughter received rosaries for herself and her mother during the audience with the pope? If this is true, how are we to understand it?

Urban: I see nothing sensational in this. John Paul II simply made a kind gesture of cordiality that he shows toward all women who visit the Vatican. In this particular case this gesture applied to Monika Jaruzelska, General Jaruzelski's daughter, and to the women translators and typists who were members of the Polish delegation. No doubt the gifts of rosaries have a longer tradition in the Vatican because in the seventies, when the then PZPR first secretary visited the pope, the latter offered the gift of rosaries to the first secretary's wife and mother.

Let me now comment on the visit paid to the Vatican by W. Jaruzelski and his entourage. It was a visit of great importance. The State Council chairman had a thorough talk with a Pole who is most concerned for the good of our fatherland and of world peace. During this talk the pope devoted much attention to Polish affairs and demonstrated his ardent interest in the cause of peace.

The commentaries of the world press have generally described the importance of this visit and talk in a correct way. It is not unusual to publicly disclose the course of a talk without any witnesses, but I am able to say that the course, atmosphere, and the protocol status of this visit in themselves confirm the importance of this event, which was of good service to Polish affairs and world peace. I would like you to inform public opinion about this assessment.

On 22 December 1986 Mr Thor Rungren on Swedish radio broadcast a report Guenter Graffenberger published in DIE PRESSE a commentary on the program for developing nuclear energy in Poland and on the construction of the nuclear power station in Zarnowiec [garbled sentence as published]. The report carried absolutely untrue information that the foundations of the power station had cracks and that nothing could be done to repair them. It suggested that the Polish authorities do not seem to care about this fact. All these allegations are just innuendos. There have been no cracks. Also, the allegation made in that report that the ground beneath the foundations was unsuitable is untrue. What is true is that we have had some difficulties in ensuring the flow to Zarnowiec of special, high-quality cement necessary for the foundation pad. The work on the foundations was interrupted precisely because specialists had reservations about the quality of the cement that was offered. These difficulties have been eliminated, and the flow of the suitable cement has been assured.

The fact that the work on the foundation pad was temporarily halted in order to ensure the flow of the best cement is rather proof of the extreme care we take in proceeding with this construction. The facts have been distorted to show that bad and defective materials continue to be used in the construction of the power station and that therefore its safe functioning may be endangered in the future.

The report in question also contained serious charges that poor discipline and even drunkenness were riot on this construction site. The appropriate authorities have established that this is untrue. The standards of discipline on the construction site of the nuclear power station are much tighter and every effort is made to enforce them. Unfortunately, the Polish press, including GLOS WYBRZEZA and SZTANDAR MŁODYCH, also published reports on this construction, which, as the construction authorities maintain, were not based on available sources of information and contained dishonest or untrue information. These publications made it possible to compile that Swedish report. Any questions?

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: In connection with Zarnowiec: Could you comment on the series of articles beginning in Wroclaw SPRAWY I LUDZIE on the construction of the Zarnowiec power station? You may not know about this series as yet so what about next week?

Urban: I will most willingly deal with your suggestion.

27 January

AU041432 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Feb 87 p 4

["Transcript" of press conference for foreign and domestic journalists given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 27 January]

[Excerpts] Scotland, Radio Polonia: Two weeks ago we learned that a certain Mrs Pedzich was travelling about Poland as an emissary of the Brussels "Solidarity" Bureau and was visiting her colleagues here. Four days ago I listened to a BBC interview with Mrs Pedzich in which she disputed all this. She said that she went to Poland to visit her family. What do you have to say about this, and whom should I believe?

Urban: In fact, I have here a recording of the BBC broadcast of a conversation that Mr Peszenicki had with Mrs Pedzich, and Mrs Pedzich says: "It was a purely private visit. I decided to use my vacation to visit my family during the Christmas period." Well, what can I say but that Mrs Pedzich has an extremely large family and that her way of visiting was extraordinarily tiring.

She arrived in Poland on Christmas Eve. To come to Poland she left Brussels, where she works in Mr Milewski's bureau. She traveled to the United States and applied for a visa there. She then went from the United States to Poland, to Warsaw. On the following day she went to Gdansk, then to Lodz, then back to Warsaw, then to Gdansk, then Szczecin, followed by Wroclaw, Warsaw, Torun, Gdansk, Wroclaw once again, Krakow, Warsaw once again, and then to Katowice, Lodz, Gdansk once again, and she returned to Warsaw on 20 January to leave Poland. Few people put so much effort into visiting their families, and hardly anyone has such a large number of relatives.

She had conversations during these trips, family conversations with the following gentlemen: Mr Walesa, Father Jankowski, Mr Gwiazda, Mr Onyszkiewicz, Mr Szumiejko, Mr Frasyniuk, Mr Jedyniak, Mr Mazowiecki, Mr Geremek, Mr Gruszecki, Mr Lis, and Mr Wyszkoski. Clearly, Mrs Pedzich has the good fortune of having a family in Poland that is politically homogenous. And now it is up to you to decide whom you wish to believe.

Grazyna Zielinska; Polish Radio: A declaration signed by 60 writers is circulating in Warsaw. Could you express your position on the letter?

Urban: The declaration signed by the 60 writers makes oblique reference to a view voiced by many of the people who signed it, namely, that the Union of Polish Writers generally groups together people who are of no consequence in the Polish literary world. These opinions are an expression of political prejudice and professional envy. The Union of Polish Writers has brought together 950 writers so far, and their number is constantly growing. Many popular and widely read writers are members of the union. On the other hand, the competition, who formulated the declaration, managed to obtain a mere 60 signatures for its document. I would like you to consider this disproportion: 950 members and candidate members of the writers' union and 60 signatories. There are only a few writers with whom readers are familiar among the names of those who signed the document. Some of the names are not even known to literature and culture scholars.

But although the declaration contains excessive criticism aimed at denigrating relations in Poland generally and in the fields of education and culture in particular, it also contains positive elements. These elements show that the positive process of reassessing views is continuing. These positive elements also show that the need for dialogue and accord is beginning to be understood by a milieu of people who were previously uncompromising, people who were resentful of reality and stood on the sidelines. I believe that these trends are positive and that they augur well for the future.

The authorities desire a dialogue with artists who think differently from us. We desire debate in a frank atmosphere. We do not reject anyone on account of what they have said in the past or where they have had their work published until recently. However, I wish to make it quite clear that accord and dialogue is not aided by people who, stating a desire for dialogue, come together in a peculiar bloc, such as the one made up of the 60 persons who signed the declaration. An association of this kind makes it difficult to embark on talks. This is because alongside the names of respected, serious writers, one also sees the signature of, for example, Adam Michnik, who is neither a writer nor an artist or any other kind whatsoever. Names such as Adam Michnik completely undermine the credibility of the desire for accord and dialogue expressed in the declaration. I will explain why.

In a book that was illegally printed on a duplicating machine in 1986 Adam Michnik wrote that activities for the near future, the next few weeks, are planned one way and that activities for years to come are planned another way. I quote: "The model of the Polish resistance movement must preserve its adaptability. It must continue to be a mosaic of diverse forms of activity, of both underground activity and activity conducted openly." He goes on to say that consultations must be held with the underground leadership on the subject of activity conducted within the framework of official institutions. Thus, it is hard for the authorities to take at face value a call for dialogue and the creation of new organizations to promote dialogue and accord if, alongside the signatures of people of good will, there are signatures belonging to people who are simply striving to organize legal agencies of underground organisms, organisms that are in violation of the law. With the same hand with which he signs a conciliatory declaration, Adam Michnik also writes that it is necessary to infiltrate open institutions in order to wait for a new conflict, one that may be bloody. Thus the appearance of a signature of this kind on a declaration signed jointly with writers destroys faith in documents such as the one under discussion.

Thus, this alliance of writers and political extremists divests the declaration of credibility, and yet the document could serve as a starting point for debate, were it not for the very fact that some of those who signed it did so for reasons that are the opposite of the intentions of the remaining signatories, for reasons such as outwitting and deceiving the authorities in dialogue and finding a new field for conducting their destructive political activity.

3 February

LD032149 Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 3 Feb 87

[By Jaroslaw Szychliński and Janusz Zaleski]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 February—Among the main topics of the government spokesman's press conference for home and foreign newsmen today were: Minister Krawczuk's statement on the condition of the Polish culture, creative associations, and censorship, Polish citizen's trips abroad last year, echoes of Whitehead's visit to Poland, forthcoming visit by Polish parliamentarians to the U.S., devaluation of the Polish zloty versus exports growth, Poland's moves aimed to combat drug addiction, and multi-lateral agreements on environmental protection.

Condition of Polish Culture

Poland's Culture and Arts Minister Aleksander Krawczuk, who participated in the conference, stated:

"I find the condition of all spheres of the Polish culture to be good, favourable. Against all shortcomings, shortages, and troubles of our public life, and particularly our economy, culture is prospering fairly well. This fact goes to prove that spirit defeats matter."

Revealing his plans and aims as the Minister of Culture, Krawczuk said:

"I would like to consistently carry out and implement the policy of openness, openness in its literal sense, [words indistinct] as I think that culture can develop if it has stimuli of various kinds from everywhere. This is also a policy of openness towards the interior, that is, towards all milieus," the minister added.

Creative Associations

While speaking about the activity of artistic milieus in Poland, Minister Krawczuk said that although these milieus had demonstrated certain divisions, some incoherence in action, these phenomena cease to exist.

"Very often, particularly when viewed from the outside, these divisions tend to be overemphasised" Krawczuk said.

"Too much attention is being attached to the fact who belongs and who does not belong to a given union. As for me, it really has no particular significance. Creative unions are for these artists who have special predilection, a special liking for social work. Creative unions are meant to work for whole milieus, and attaching political significance to their membership is, for me, a kind of misunderstanding" he said.

"One has to say with full responsibility that the Polish state is aware of being the patron of culture on behalf of the entire society. This patronage is still being developed. In 1987, means for the development of the state patronage will go up by one-third, and this will be consistently realized," Krawczuk added.

"My task as a minister is to create a climate of artistic freedom, a climate of openness" Krawczuk said.

Censorship and So-Called Second Circulation Publications

Replying to a question about censorship and the so-called second circulation literature in Poland, Krawczuk said that although the authorities did not support such publications, they did not persecute the so-called second circulation. This creates a sense of a peculiar freedom, but "for many years now, nothing really valuable has appeared within that second circulation. What is being published there is easy and its character is that of almost political lampoons" the minister went on.

"Censorship in Poland is not only lenient but also as if in the state of gradual decay. Censored are particularly insulting attacks on Poland's allies, on authorities. In the Polish press there are extremely critical articles in which the censorship does not interfere at all. At certain stages, censorship must be practiced, but it is clear that in Poland, it is in retreat," he said.

"Actually, the existence of the second circulation is an instance of the fact that censorship gradually withdraws from certain areas," Krawczuk said.

Answering more questions, Krawczuk said that there were practically no shelved films in Poland and all produced films are released to cinemas. He also said that in the coming days he would write a letter to the Warsaw mayor asking for permission to convene a general Pen Club assembly.

Answering a question [words indistinct] of solving the so-called video market in Poland the Minister of Culture said a new law on film industry is now being drafted. The draft dwells extensively also on TV video recorders, video cassettes and publications of this type. "This will give us legal basis to solve the phenomenon which is of great significance."

Discussing contacts of Polish culture abroad, Krawczuk stressed the importance of the agreement signed in Moscow last month to step up Poland's cooperation with the USSR in culture. He also emphasized Poland's cooperation in this area with the Lithuanian Republic.

Krawczuk stressed the significance of talks held with the Italian Minister of Culture. "These talks with Italy aim to make that country an almost privileged partner among West European states," Krawczuk said.

Trips by Polish Citizens Abroad in 1986

Government spokesman Jerzy Urban said that a total of 4,323,910 Polish citizens went abroad in 1986. This number included 3,174,087 people who went on private trips (visits and package tours) and 1,139,274 on business and sports trips. 3,357,549 Polish citizens, including 2,390,094 on private and tourist trips, went to socialist countries. 951,087 people went on business trips and 15,372 people for sports events.

In 1986, 966,361 people went to capitalist states, this number including 593,098 on private tours, 190,895 with package tours, 161,331 on business trips and 11,457 for sports events there.

A total of 9,580 people emigrated to capitalist states and 996 to socialist ones.

As compared with 1985 when a total of 3,501,557 Polish citizens went abroad, the number of journeys abroad rose by 23.5 percent, including a 25.9 percent growth to socialist countries and a 15.9 percent rise to capitalist countries.

According to reports by Polish consular missions, 443 Polish citizens illegally deserted package tours and refused to return home in the last quarter of 1986.

Birth Certificate of Nobel Prize Winner Found

The birth certificate of a Nobel Prize winner of 1943, physicist Otto Stern, has been found in Zory, Upper Silesia, KURIER POLSKI reported today.

The documents say that on 20 February 1888, a local miller, Oskar Stern reported at the municipal council to register his newborn son whom he and his wife Eugenia nee Rosenthal named Otto.

Some sources speaking about Stern's life do not mention his birthplace in Poland.

Echoes of Whitehead's Visit

Asked about the conditions allegedly given by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead to the Polish Government during his recent visit, which should be fulfilled so that the U.S. Government lift sanctions against Poland, Urban said that John C. Whitehead arrived in Poland to acquaint himself with Poland's stand on Polish-U.S. relations and to present the stance of the U.S. Government which might serve a gradual improvement of these relations.

"He did not come to impose any conditions and the Polish Government never accepted conditions. This was a working visit, first contact at that level in five years. We positively assessed the fact that the visit did take place.

Although some progress in Polish-U.S. relations is being made, basic restrictions imposed by the U.S. on Poland are still binding," Urban said.

Referring to Whitehead's meeting with Lech Walesa, Urban said that this was a private contact of an informal character, beyond the range of the government's interest as long as it is not used to dim the aims which guided the visit.

What is most important for the improvement of Polish-U.S. relations is the lifting of unlawful restrictions used by the United States against Poland, Urban stated.

In the course of the visit, the sides found it purposeful to start negotiations on the signing of an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation, parliamentary exchange, and take moves aimed at reviving the joint Polish-U.S. trade commission. The U.S. side's decision to resume its participation in the Poznan International Fair is such a step, Urban said.

Only One Pole To Appear in World Biathlon Championships

Kazimierz Urbaniak (21) of Gornik Walbrzych will be the only Pole to compete in the World Biathlon Championships to be staged in Lake Placid between 10 and 15 February.

Polish Parliamentarians in the U.S.

Urban said that in the first days of March a group of Polish parliamentarians, led by head of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Jozef Czyrek, would go to the U.S. to discuss the issue of further improvement in Polish-U.S. relations.

Devaluation of the Zloty and Export Growth

Answering a question whether the recent devaluation of the zloty influenced the rise in Polish exports, Urban said that it would be possible to make a proper assessment only after some time. However, one can say right now that such a substantial devaluation must stimulate exports. It will also have an anti-import influence. The profitability of exports will grow and the profitability of imports will fall, which will improve the trade balance-sheet.

Poland's Steps to Combat Drug Addiction

Urban said that at a U.N. conference for drugs held in Vienna, Poland supported joint international ventures to combat drug addiction and drugs trafficking. Poland submitted substantial remarks to a proposed international convention on this question to improve the wording of the above-mentioned convention. Poland adheres in its home actions to existing international decisions on fighting drug addiction.

Multilateral Agreements on Environmental Protection

Asked what steps Poland takes together with neighbouring countries to protect the natural environment, Urban said that these issues were solved within the

CMEA where the council for the protection and shaping of natural environment operates, and also through bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries. This concerns particularly the management of border waters and limiting the flow of air pollution. These agreements made it possible to organize a system of mutual transfer of reports on the causes, kinds and effects of pollution.

In accordance with the latest Sejm resolution of 29 January, Poland will continue to work in favour of expanding and improving cooperation in environmental protection with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR. This applies to the pollution of water and air alike.

Urban told newsmen that during Jozef Czyrek's recent visit to Paris, the attention was focused on improving Polish-French relations. The intention to improve these relations was voiced by both sides, Urban added. Asked to elaborate on the programme of a forthcoming visit to Poland by the French Foreign Minister, Urban said that all arrangements in this respect would be made through diplomatic channels. Urban dismissed allegations to the effect that the government postponed the purchase of a licence on a passenger car. He said the government did not postpone that case and that the parties concerned were to submit their modified offers which would be the subject of subsequent talks.

/12913

CSO: 2020/56

DEPUTY MINISTER VIEWS HEALTH SERVICE PROSPECTS

PM061155 Torun GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 23 Dec 86 p 4

[Interview with Dr Zdzislaw Szamborski, vice minister of health and social welfare, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] It does not, presumably, come as a surprise to you that neither the general public nor the health service employees themselves are happy with the state of the health care in our country. Do the plans for 1987 envisage an improvement in that area? I hope your answer will be as concrete as possible.

[Szamborski] And so you should, because only concrete facts count.

[Scholl] The press announcement carrying the central annual plan for 1987 states: "The number of beds in teaching and general hospitals will increase by about 4,800." How are we to understand this?

[Szamborski] This is the number of new beds to be installed, or perhaps even 100 more, because the rate at which new hospitals are being built suggests that next year, among others, five new facilities will be handed over: in Elblag, Ila, Kalisz, Lodz, and Sosnowiec.

[Scholl] That is not a bad forecast--provided that it does come true....

[Szamborski] Indeed, the prognosis for the next 5-year period is very promising. Among other things, the capital investment projects I mentioned are being carried out according to plan and they are well under way. They are taken care of by voivodas, whereas our brief is to supervise and coordinate things so that the new hospitals do not find themselves short of, say, equipment or staff.

[Scholl] You speak of new hospital beds, but we know that a number of old ones, in facilities which are to be taken out of commission, will be lost.

[Szamborski] That is true. The net increase in the number of hospital beds next year will amount to 2,000. But we should not put the "wastage" of a number of hospitals on the debit side. Some of those facilities, having undergone repairs and modernization, will be returned to the health care sector, and others will be adapted for use as residential homes for social welfare recipients.

In the current 5-year period 8,000 places are expected to be added in welfare homes, but we are encouraging voivodas to increase the number of available places by 1,600 by making adaptations--sometimes only small ones would be needed--in the existing facilities, including also long-standing hospitals.

[Scholl] You mentioned the fact that you must secure adequate staffing for new hospitals, and I suspect this holds true also for new surgeries and health centers. We do, however, know of cases where new facilities have remained unopened because of a shortage of doctors and nurses.

[Szamborski] In 1987 medical academies will produce 5,670 graduates, that is, 300 more than this year. And secondary medical schools will produce 23,104 graduates, that is, 2,568 more than this year.

[Scholl] But the population will grow, too. And, of course, the proportion of elderly people will be higher, and they fall ill more often. Also, many hospitals and surgeries suffer from nursing staff shortages.

[Szamborski] Some 12,200 nurses will graduate from training colleges this year and 12,800 in 1987.

[Scholl] If only they would all stay in their profession!

[Szamborski] That is why we have been making efforts to build residential homes and apartments designated for the medical staff, particularly in those voivodships which are at present suffering from staffing shortages.

[Scholl] To conclude, a few words about medicinal drugs. The value of pharmaceutical and herbal products supplied to the market is to increase by 24 billion, that is, 4.7 percent. I am not sure whether this means an actual increase in the quantity of products supplied or just higher prices?

[Szamborski] It will be a real increase, calculated on the basis of comparable prices.

[Scholl] Is the Ministry of Health confident about the realization of that plan, which is, after all, the responsibility of another, chemical sector?

[Szamborski] We can never be confident as long as the pharmaceutical industry continues to depend on components available only for hard currency. However, the government's 1985 resolution on the development of the pharmaceutical industry is already beginning to bring forth fruit: production of medicinal drugs, including Polopiryna and antibiotics, has increased by several billion zlotys. Prior to last year, for example, we paid 10 million dollars to import the cardiological drug Corinfar, while this year we already have our own, Polish-made Cordafen.

The sum of 115 million dollars has been allocated to cover next year's imports of medicinal drugs. We will take care to ensure that this hard currency is used to the best advantage. We have earmarked it primarily for combating circulatory diseases and neoplasms and developing anesthesiology, whose

importance has increased with the advancement of medical science—to cite, for example, open heart surgery. In addition, we will use it to buy drugs for the treatment of children with disorders of the internal absorption processes who must observe a gluten-free diet, and also hematogenous preparations, including albumin.

[Scholl] Dependence on imports is also, as it were, a disease. Is there no treatment for it?

[Szamborski] Unfortunately, it is not possible to activate all at once the large number of investment projects that would be necessary to put our pharmaceutical industry on its feet. We depend on the import of not only medicinal drugs but also medical equipment essential for such operations as cardiac surgery or renal dialysis.

[Scholl] Which means that nothing is as effective in health preservation as... good economic results that allow us to intensify exports so that we can afford to import.

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CSO: 2600/361

CULTURE MINISTER ON CHANGING 'ATMOSPHERE'

PM211705 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 1, 12 Jan 87 pp 32-33

[Interview with Polish Culture and Arts Minister Aleksander Krawczuk by Viktor Tsoppi: "To Serve The Muses"]

[Text] [Krawczuk] The word 'minister' comes to us from Latin. This is an appropriate time to recall that its original meaning was 'servant,' a person who serves. The Minister at the department I head is a servant of culture who is obliged to know its interests and needs and minister to them. He should also represent culture in its relationship with the authorities. His function differs from that of other ministers of, say, mining or steel. They can issue orders and decrees. A minister of culture cannot create art or culture by issuing instructions and directives. His duty is to create conditions, a climate favourable to culture, and the arts.

[Tsoppi] In short, to serve the Muses.

[Krawczuk] Yes, to serve reverently and faithfully, and not command them.
[answer ends]

Aleksander Krawczuk has only recently moved from the office of a professor to that of minister. But he was a household name in Poland even before his appointment. One of the country's most distinguished historians, a perceptive and sensitive student of classical civilization, he writes about ancient times and extinct cultures in a way that seems to resurrect them and give them a new lease of life in the present. Poles enjoy his television programmes in which he speaks with passionate interest about the ancient world. Now Aleksander Krawczuk is Minister of Culture and the Arts of the Polish People's Republic.

Culture and the arts sustained serious damage during the period of social tension in Poland. That is why our talk is not about the labours of Hercules or the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, but pressing problems of today and tomorrow.

[Tsoppi] People's Poland, it was said at the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, has overcome the crisis and is now entering a period of struggle for its future. What is the situation on the cultural front?

[Krawczuk] The situation is difficult. A lot of problems have built up. But I must say for the sake of fairness that Polish culture, having survived the crisis, is recovering its breath and becoming more and more diverse. Polish culture has much to be proud of, many of its achievements have had worldwide impact. We are not exactly starting from scratch, but we face real difficulties. I would first mention the very real practical problems which were the subject of concerned discussion at the PUWP Congress. Our cultural amenities are run down, clearly lag behind the scientific and technological revolution and fail to meet the greatly increased spiritual demands of society. We lack modern technology and equipment for our culture facilities. We do not have enough funds to build new theatres and philharmonics. Printing is in a poor state and there is a growing shortage of paper. Painters sometimes do not have enough paint and brushes. There are problems all around.

[Tsopp1] Polish culture, as I was able to observe in the grim and troubled days of social crisis, suffered a grave trauma, not only in material terms, but also on the ideological level. Some Polish intellectuals, including some of the most celebrated ones, turned away from socialism and lost faith in it. Some of them left for the West. Others withdrew into what is called internal emigration. Others again cast their lot with the church. Some engaged in illegal antisocialist activities. All of them set themselves in opposition to those of their colleagues who had courageously and consistently worked to overcome the crisis and save socialist Poland. Can it be said that the legacy of that crisis has been overcome.

[Krawczuk] The problem of divisions within the artistic milieu is still with us. We have people who are members of official associations (Unions) of artists. There are some indifferent people, who take, as it were, a neutral stand. But there are still some hostile elements. The situation is changing. More and more artists and cultural workers are joining the unions of artists. But I ask myself a far from idle question: must everyone be a member of these unions? There has never been a time in Poland when all artists were members of unions. The unions are joined by those who are attracted to organizational work, and are willing to sacrifice part of their time to deal with the problems facing the unions. I for one do not set myself the goal of inducing everyone to join the unions. Let those who want to join them do so and if there are those who don't, we do not mind. This is not the most important thing.

The key task, for me, is to put an end to hostility and schisms, I have a feeling that these schisms, divisions and feuds are dying down and that the tensions are not as acute as they have been until recently. People are talking to each other without abandoning their views. I have met people of different persuasions. I think it is a good thing. In the final count, we are all, including myself in my capacity as minister, serving the supreme goal of enriching Polish culture. The important thing is that people should want to work towards this goal. Whether a person is or is not a member of an artists' union is immaterial. Besides, I think there is no point in trying to lure convinced members of the opposition into the unions--this would lend these people extra significance and weight.

I would like all Polish cultural workers to be aware that their contribution to changing and improving our life is essential if we are to succeed in our current plans. However, there is still a group of people who distance themselves completely from cultural life. There are not many of them, and their influence on social processes is clearly waning. I would compare their lot... I would say they are like vanishing islands. This has been their own choice. All we need to do is keep our calm and restraint. The doors of this office are open to all cultural workers. I am ready and willing to talk, argue and exchange views with anyone. But I am not trying to persuade anyone--only experience can persuade. We treat everyone in a friendly, attentive and understanding way. I think this approach alone can, sooner or later, bring the desired result. I would be naive to hope that all cultural workers will join the unions within two or three months. We think along different lines. We seek to bring radical changes to the atmosphere, the climate, to sentiments. This is my goal as a minister.

[Tsoppi] There is a lot of talk about pluralism in Poland, and it is not just talk. There is a wide spectrum of attitudes. How do you regard this?

[Krawczuk] I believe that the true pluralists in Poland, i.e. those who respect the views of others, are those who are on the side of socialism. At the same time, one cannot deny that people loyal to the socialist system may have different conceptions. On the other hand, those who trumpet their adherence to pluralism are really convinced that they alone are right. If they were to come to power, it would be terrible. It would be a dictatorship of liberals. We know the kind of liberals they are: "When we liberals come to power we shall bring everyone to heel and everyone will be obliged to be a liberal." It sounds like a joke but it is true. These are exactly the views propagated by some publications in Poland. Some Catholic newspapers and magazines publish only those who cooperate with the church. Others might not exist; they are not even mentioned.

We have a different philosophy: "Those who are not actively against us are with us." I read a lot of "official" periodicals. I come across a whole range of differing views, positions and conceptions in the field of politics and art. A debate is in progress from which truth can and will be born. In Catholic publications we find amazing intolerance of dissent, I don't know if my opinion is the right criterion or whether I am an impartial observer, believing as I do in many Gods, but I favour intellectual diversity. I don't mind telling you that I hate everything that is "mono," because it is not only monotonous but dangerous.

Poland has learned this to its cost. The Solidarity leadership, for example, became after a certain point, a dictatorship, although initially it proclaimed very liberal ideas.

Life here presents many other problems that claim attention. No one would deny that we are living at a very dramatic juncture in world history and the history of Poland. But I do not know of a single work in our literature that tries to address itself to this drama. Polish fiction treats of a wealth of subjects. No subject is taboo. But I have yet to see a work which reflects the essence of the problems of our time vividly and artistically.

Another paradox. You know that some underground literature is being published in Poland. These books, like those printed abroad, make no attempt to come to grips with the drama of the period Poles are living through. This "literature" merely relapses into last-century Romantic trends: messianism, rebellion, Gothic. None of the people who have found themselves on the other side of the barricades seem to be aware that times have changed, that the problems are quite different and the people are different. The impression one gets from such "literature" is depressing.

Yes, we do have censorship (for which we are fiercely attacked) and which, incidentally, is very liberal. But the illegally published authors write anything they like. The same is true of those authors whose work is published abroad. Free of any coercion and censorship, these people would seem to be in an ideal position to create masterpieces without looking over their shoulder to any authorities. And yet there is nothing worth noticing in the work. There is no art, just fury, hatred and insults.

[Tsoppi] What do you think of the church's attempts to take writers, artists, actors and the education system under its wing?

[Krawczuk] I don't think we should exaggerate the problem, although it would be wrong to dismiss it either. The Church in Poland has at all times tried to be a patron of the arts. Artists, sculptors, architects, even some writers have over the centuries been linked with the church. What do we see now? A lot of churches are being built, which has generated demand for works of art for the new shrines. It is not for me to judge the artistic value of modern church architecture, painting and sculpture. Opinions differ on that score. even Catholic publications are sometimes highly critical of this work. Moreover, our Roman Catholic Church has taken some writers and actors under its wing. Some of them have performed, and are still performing, in churches. But that does not have much resonance. A real actor needs a real stage. Without theatre, cinema and especially television, an actor does not exist for the public at large. No church can bring wide public recognition. These people have played the episodic part of martyrs, but proved to be failures. How can they be called martyrs? So, the aura of martyrdom has faded. Besides, creative individuals who have linked their fate with the church are becoming increasingly aware that the church imposes far more rigid demands than the people's stage. The state, in fact, allows everything. Write anything you like. We have freedom of expression. But if you are in the fold of the church you are expected to keep to church canons. That is, you are up against a censorship which was invented by the church. Members of the artistic intelligentsia are realizing that this road has taken them nowhere.

[Tsoppi] Changing the subject, what do you think of the current level of cooperation between the socialist cultures of Poland and the Soviet Union?

[Krawczuk] Cultural exchanges between our countries are making good headway. The task today is to improve the quality of cooperation. It is a question of improvement rather than expansion. Vigorous cultural exchanges among young people seem to be a major avenue. The young in the two countries are different. But they would benefit from knowing each other better. Soviet Minister of Culture Yuriy Zakharov and I have had a thoroughgoing discussion

of how to create the material infrastructure without which culture cannot develop. Together with our colleagues from other socialist countries, we approached the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for an acceleration of the development of those industries that provide the material basis for culture.

I am convinced that our cultural cooperation will then acquire new scope and meaning. I expect specific agreements to emerge from my visit to Moscow in early January. I am looking forward to the Moscow meetings with hope and optimism.

[Tsoppi] Thank you, Comrade Minister. I wish you and the Muses you serve a Happy New Year.

[Krawczuk] Happy New Year!

/12913

CSO: 2020/56

PZPR OFFICIAL VIEWS LOCAL GOVERNMENT CHANGES

PM231613 Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 23 Dec 86 p 3

[Interview with Edward Szymanski, secretary of the PZPR Parliamentary Group and head of the PZPR Central Committee Sejm Affairs Office, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] In your opinion, is the interest shown in the act on the system of people's councils and local self-government, which the Sejm updated on 19 December, equally lively in the lowest echelons of power?

[Szymanski] I am firmly convinced that it is. As evidence of this, let me cite a symptomatic incident: In the parish of Swieczow, in Opole Voivodship, Zdzislaw Opala relinquished his seat as councillor in protest at violations of the spirit of the act in question.

On the other hand, however, one comes across councils--and councillors--that do not know the full extent of their powers and are not always capable of making proper use of them.

[Scholl] Perhaps they are afraid?

[Szymanski] They have the act behind them when it comes to performing their duties as councillors. Although it is true that the act does not give sufficient protection against suppression of criticism or retaliation. Fortunately, timidity is a somewhat rare characteristic among the crowd of 110,429 councillors and 380,304 local self-government activists. They tend to argue loudly for their causes, which after all, they share with all citizens. As a rule, they also receive support from the party and the other political parties, and from the social organizations which proposed them for their posts.

[Scholl] All the same, there are few questions and interpellations raised at sessions, even though the right to voice them is an important prerogative granted to councillors.

[Szymanski] That happens when, swayed by administrative pressure, councils move their question time to the end of their sessions. As a result, there is never enough time to fit it in. Members still submit written question, but that has not the same significance.

[Scholl] What examples of both strong and weak points in the work of the councils can you cite?

[Szymanski] I would count socialization of planning among their strongest points. Local government and administration bodies have developed considerable independence in this respect. However, it is still necessary to boost the independence of councils at the lowest local level. Parish people's councils are the weakest link here.

In practical terms, decentralization has stopped at voivodship level. Financial planning is still an old-style exercise: Voivodships "hold" the money and allocate it according to directive and discretionary criteria. That is why deputies demanded a higher degree of decentralization, and they were right to do so.

[Scholl] There are more "holes" in local budgets than possibilities of meeting the existing local needs. Do councils try to find their own resources through their own schemes and industries?

[Szymanski] They are still not doing too well in that respect. In the last 5 years voivodas set up only 42 local industry enterprises. That is why it is essential to create material bases for more rapid development of local industries.

[Scholl] What were the advantages of the 19 December updating of the councils act?

[Szymanski] The main advantage was... that the scope of the updating was very limited. In my opinion it is always necessary to observe extensively the "behavior" of every new act if we are to make any essential, effective alterations in it. Sometimes, of course, life itself dictates the necessity of making some small, cosmetic corrections like the one that was made in this case.

For example, it became urgently necessary to streamline the decisionmaking process with regard to the citing of new enterprises, and the updated act provides for such an exigency. It also provides for better coordination between economic planning and land use management, thereby ensuring environmental protection, as repeatedly demanded by the public. Moreover, it empowers the Council of ministers and the Council of State to define such rights and duties for village elders as would make it possible to improve administrative "services" for citizens.

[Scholl] Thank you for talking to me.

/12232

CSO: 2600/361

PZPR, CPSU ADOPT IDEOLOGICAL COOPERATION PROGRAM**LD242328 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 24 Jan 87**

[Text] Warsaw, 24 January--Jan Glowczyk, member of the Political Bureau and PZPR CC secretary, and CC Secretaries Henryk Bednarski and Andrzej Wasilewski met today with visiting CPSU CC secretaries Aleksandr Yakovlev, Anatoliy Dobrynin and Vadim Medvedev.

The participants in the meeting voiced their satisfaction over the development of the comprehensive and fruitful cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union.

The sides adopted a programme of the development of ideological cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU until 1990.

The document envisages the activation of joint actions in the exchange of experiences in socialist construction, in the shaping of a high degree of consciousness and initiative in the ideological-political, scientific-technological, production and social spheres.

Prime importance is given to the possibility of establishing direct cooperation between companies, scientific, research, cultural and education centers, as well as to the perfecting and broadening of contacts between people.

The document outlines the directions of intensified work on joint scientific analyses of the processes occurring in the contemporary world and the deepening of cooperation between the academies of sciences and the Polish and Soviet higher party schools.

It envisages a considerable development of cooperation between mass media and publishing houses with a view to expanding the knowledge of the social and political life, economic and cultural development of both countries. The number of joint TV programmes will go up. Conditions are being created for increased co-production of television and cinema films.

Significant importance is given to a high ideological-political and artistic level of events organized under the plan of cultural and scientific cooperation for the years 1986-1990 and to the joint ventures connected with

the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic and other important anniversaries.

The programme envisages many other joint ventures in the field of Polish-Soviet scientific, cultural and ideological cooperation.

/12913

CSO: 2020/56

CC BODY EXAMINES SATELLITE TV, ELECTS BOARD

AU021335 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jan 87 p 2

[Izabella Wajszczuk report: "Satellite Television—A Topic For Today Or Tomorrow?"]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Commission for Propaganda Affairs held its first meeting on 29 January. Its chairman is Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. During the previous tenure, the Central Committee failed to appoint a commission to deal with propaganda affairs. Therefore, apart from discussing satellite television, the prime topic, and its development and the dangers connected with it, this first working session of the commission also examined the concept of "propaganda" itself and the commission's work in this respect.

A presidium was elected. Its deputy chairman is Jerzy Majka, TRYBUNA LUDU editor-in-chief; and its secretary is Jozef Barecki, director of the PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Department. The Presidium also consists of: Wladyslaw Gontarski, foreman at the Gdynia docks; Mieczyslaw Radowski, Sejm vice marshal; Zbigniew Sobotka, first secretary of the PZPR Committee within the "Warsaw" steelworks; Jerzy Szmajdziński, chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP]; and Slawomir Tabkowski, editor-in-chief of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA [KRAKOW JOURNAL].

Opening the meeting, J. Glowczyk discussed the role of propaganda in the social and political life of countries, especially Poland. Referring to the recent Warsaw conference of Central Committee secretaries from the Socialist countries, he reminded the commission of the important development stage in which the Socialist countries have found themselves. Although much depends on the economic sphere, there is a two-way link between that and broadly-conceived propaganda. Making good use of that link is one of propaganda's more important functions. Proceeding to the main topic, satellite television, J. Glowczyk indicated the trends contained in press items so far. Speaking about satellite television, one must not forget the need to make qualitative changes in the functioning of the mass media. A good and attractive method of functioning encourages the perception of valuable topics, he said.

Discussing the various dangers accompanying satellite television, the commission agreed unanimously that the greatest danger is the erasure of cultural identity. Examples are provided by several Western states, which

after several years of satellite reception have now begun to search for ways of selecting from and restricting the reception of "satellite hash" ["satelitarna papka"].

The commission stated that it is essential to think about the future, including the development of satellite television and the selection of the cheapest technological solutions. But this cannot free us of the need to perfect what we already have, including technical facilities and programming. This in turn involves program reviews, and even reviews of newspapers, including ours. The commission noted the increased presence of printed letters from readers, which have shown that one can write interesting and attractive material if one wishes to.

The commission also agreed that, while modernizing propaganda methods, it is essential to take care regarding the quality of information, so that the information is rapid, comprehensive, and open.

The following persons spoke: Leslaw Wojtasik, Czeslaw Mojsiewicz, Slawomir Tabkowski, Norbert Krawczyk, Albert Kosowski, Julian Kraus, Stanislaw Kosicki, Wladyslaw Korczak, Jerzy Fiedosiejew, Jerzy Majka, Wieslaw Rydygier, and Zdzislaw Rozbicki.

In the commission's opinion, it is essential to work out a comprehensive development program for Polish satellite television, taking into account the CEMA agreements, among other things.

It was agreed that the next session would examine the reports of post-congress meetings of primary party organizations within newspapers on the subject of propaganda influence.

/12913

CSO: 2020/56

POPE ADDRESSES POLES ON EMIGRATION 23 DECEMBER

AU271137 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 11 Jan 87 pp 1, 4

[The Pope's 23 December address to Polish pilgrims in the Vatican, compiled from the Vatican Radio's Polish programs]

[Excerpt] I wish to address my message not only to you, but also to all our countrymen throughout the world and, above all, to the 38 million Poles in Poland.

During my pilgrimages of pastoral service in various countries and recently in Australia and New Zealand, I always manage to meet with Polish emigrants. These meetings always move me profoundly, and one reason for this is that they bring back the memories of our fatherland and nation and of their history.

We have cordial ties with all the Polish emigrants throughout the world and we are pleased with their successes. We are grateful for what they do for Poland in the world and for Poland, in Poland. It adds to our joy to hear what bishops from various countries and continents say about the solid ties between the Polish emigrants and the Catholic Church in their new countries.

However, at the same time, we cannot forget that emigration is tantamount to a loss for the people at home, to a kind of necessary evil. People who could and should contribute to the common good of their own nation and who are often highly trained and educated emigrate to other countries. Although everyone has the right to emigrate under specific circumstances, the question is why do people want to emigrate?

Is it not necessary to do everything possible to ensure that such people are able to find proper jobs in the fatherland and proper living conditions for their families? No one in Poland should feel that he is an unwanted or, what is worse, an inconvenient person. The dangerous view that our fatherland is unable to develop and to offer a future for one and one's children should be abandoned.

The Christmas Eve ceremonies, during which we offer each other best wishes, should be attended by the entire family and all its generations, who should also think of their fatherland, of Poland, as it has existed for so many centuries and in the years of the most strenuous struggles for national existence.

It is in this spirit that I have received Christmas Eve wishes from you and have replied to them. On Christmas Eve I feel myself especially close to the large family of my nation. I profoundly react to every benefit that comes the way of Poles, but my reaction is much more profound to every evil, every loss, and every humiliation.

/9738

CSO: 2600/342

SURVEY ON CHURCH SOBRIETY APPEAL

AU221313 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jan 87 p 2

[Text] PAP—What results were produced by the church's appeal for moderation in the consumption of alcohol during August 1986? This question was recently posed in a survey conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research under the slogan "What Do You Think About This?" The respondents based their replies on their own observations, and this needs to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the survey.

Every third respondent (35.7 of those questioned) stated that alcohol consumption declined in his immediate circle. Every fourth respondent (27.5 percent) noted a similar trend in his place of residence.

Some respondents (between 43 and 45 percent of the sample) did not notice a difference in alcohol consumption compared with previous months.

Every fifth respondent was unable to express a view on the subject, and 4 percent of those questioned believed that alcohol consumption had actually increased during the month of August.

Of those questioned, 93 percent described themselves as believers, and more than half could be described as regularly practising believers.

More than four-fifths (82.1 percent) of those taking part in the survey had heard about the church's appeal.

Positive results produced by the church's appeal were most frequently noticed by believers and practising believers, and respondents who knew about the appeal noticed a decline in alcohol consumption far more often than those who did not.

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CSO: 2600/342

BRIEFS

HEALTH TALKS RESUMED—Washington, 20 January—The seventh session of the Polish-American Committee for Cooperation in Health Matters was held here today, for the first time since 1981, when the committee conferred in Poland. The committee discussed organizational, operational and financial problems which surfaced during the five years' break and specified branches on medical science in which it is advisable and possible to undertake joint research. The sides agreed that the next session of the committee will be held in Poland in 1988. Professor Janusz Jeliaszewicz and Lidia Retkowa-Mika of Poland took part in the meeting. The committee was set up by virtue of agreement on cooperation in health matters signed by the governments of Poland and the United States. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 30 Jan 87 LD] /12913

OUTGOING AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR—Warsaw, 3 February—Vice-President of the Council of State Tadeusz Szelachowski received today Austrian Ambassador Richard Wotava who paid a farewell visit at the end of his mission to Poland. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 3 Feb 87 LD] /12913

ORZECZOWSKI TO VISIT IRAN—Warsaw, 28 January—Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski will pay an official visit to Iran in early February at the invitation from Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran 'Ali Akbar Velayati. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1920 GMT 28 Jan 87 LD] /12913

YEMEN DELEGATION RECEIVED—Warsaw, 6 February—A delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party CC, led by Political Bureau member and secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party CC Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah, is now in Poland at the invitation from the PUPP CC. The delegation had talks with Political Bureau members and PUPP CC Secretaries Jozef Czyrek and Jozef Baryla. Both sides said that prevailing tension in the Middle East posed a threat to peace and the international security. The two sides came out for a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict through talks at an international conference under the U.N. auspices with the participation of all the interested parties, including the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Both sides pointed to threats stemming from arms race, voicing full support for disarmament initiatives by the USSR and other socialist countries. The two sides said that one should step up efforts to consolidate peace and international security. Voicing satisfaction over the hitherto development of relations between the PUPP and the Yemen Socialist Party, both sides decided to take steps to further tighten

and broaden these relations. To this end, they decided and reached agreement on inter-party cooperation in 1987-1988. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 6 Feb 87 LD]

ENVOY ADDRESSES GENEVA CW TALKS--Geneva, 5 February--The disarmament conference adopted here today a report of the conference's committee for drawing up a convention on the ban on chemical weapons which held its debates last January. Speaking on behalf of socialist states, Poland's representative Ambassador Stanislaw Turbanski, said that progress achieved in work on the convention on the ban on chemical weapons justified a common feeling that work on it might end in 1987. The Polish representative said that socialist states would spare no efforts to seek mutually acceptable solutions. The text of the convention which has been agreed upon so far includes the majority of fundamental issues. Now, time has come to make political decisions which would open the road to solve the remaining problems. The signing of the convention would contribute to the consolidation of international security and confidence, said Turbanski. [By PAP Correspondent Edward Dylawski] [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 5 Feb 87 LD] /12913

POLITICAL TALKS ENDED--Warsaw, 7 February--Two-day Polish-British political consultations wound up here today, held by Polish Foreign Vice-Minister Tadeusz Olechowski and British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Ronald Timothy Renton. The sides reviewed bilateral relations and prospects for their development. Also discussed were main international issues, with particular regard to East-West relations and disarmament. Both sides showed interest in the CSCE meeting in Vienna and proposals submitted there, including Polish ones. Both sides confirmed their readiness to further actively develop relations, including political dialogue, economic, and cultural-scientific cooperation. The British guest was received by Political Bureau member, PUWP CC secretary, Chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs committee Jozef Czyrek and Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski. He was also received by Foreign Trade Minister Andrzej Wojcik and Vice-Minister of Finance, Andrzej Dorosz. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 7 Feb 87 LD] /12913

POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WITH VIETNAM--The Polish and Vietnamese deputy foreign ministers, Jan Majewski and Hoang Bich Son, respectively held political consultations in Warsaw 12-16 January. They positively appraised Polish-Vietnamese relations, discussed measures to promote these relations in all areas, and exchanged views on issues of interest to the two countries, especially in Europe and Asia. Hoang Bich Son was received by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski and by Ernest Kucza, head of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department. The Vietnamese guest also had talks with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and meetings at the headquarters of the Polish-Vietnamese Friendship Society. Ambassador Nguyen Trong Thuan attended the talks. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Jan 87 p 3 AU] /12232

SWEDEN CHECKS SMUGGLING ATTEMPT--The Prosecutor's Office in Malmoe has completed his investigation in the case of an attempted smuggling from Sweden to Poland of printing and other equipment, as well as publications intended to be used in activities incompatible with the law of our country. According to the prosecutor, suggestions that the police or customs officials in Ystad provided help to the organizers of the dispatch are unfounded. This is, Superintendent Ola Silsson said, a case of private smuggling. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 29 Jan 87 LD] /12232

MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--On 31 January, Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Miroslaw Wojciechowski, the newly-nominated PPR ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Feb 87 p 2 AU] /12232

TRADE WORKERS HONORED--On the occasion of Trade Worker's Day, celebrated yesterday, Zbigniew Messner, Jozef Koziol, and Jerzy Jozwiak awarded state decorations for merited workers of that section of the economy in the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. Premier Messner emphasized while congratulating those decorated, the difficult work of over a million strong group of trade workers. He also wished that through the modernization of the technological infrastructure the work of trade employees, and in particular of women would become easier and more satisfying. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Feb 87 LD] /12232

ORZECZOWSKI RECEIVES UK'S RENTON--Ronald Timothy Renton, minister of state at the British Foreign Office, is visiting Poland. The British visitor was received by Marian Orzechowski, minister of foreign affairs. They discussed problems concerning international relations, particularly matters pertaining to security and disarmament. Both parties expressed hope that, in connection with the CSCE meeting being held in Vienna, the situation in Europe would improve. They also considered the opportunities and prospects for the development of Polish-British relations. [No video available] [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Feb 87 LD] /12232

CSO: 2600/361

WORKING SESSION OF WRITERS UNION BUREAU

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian No 7, 12 February 1987 reports on page 2 that the Bureau of the Writers Union of the Socialist Republic of Romania met in a working session on 6 February 1987. Three items were on the agenda: Alexandru Balaci, vice president of the Writers Union, delivered a paper entitled "The Role of Literature in for Formation of Socialist Consciousness"; a report by Traian Iancu, director of the Writers Union, on the budget for 1986 and projections for 1987 followed; finally, Constantin Chirita, vice-president of the Writers Union, delivered a paper entitled "Social Problems."

A number of writers, CC of RCP members, Grand National Assembly members and Socialist Democracy and Unity Front members took part in the discussion, such as Aurel Covaci, Ioan Alexandru, Mircea Tomus, Letay Lajos, Octavian Paler, Petre Salcudeanu, Valeriu Rapeanu, Ov. S. Crohmalniceanu, Constantin Toiu (vice-president of the Writers Union), Ion Holbana (secretary of the Writers Union), Andi Andries (president of the Censors Commission), Mircea Radu Iacoban, Eugen Simion, Paul Everac, Traian Iancu and Ion Dodu Balan.

Ghita Florea, assistant section chief of CC of RCP and Mihai Dulea, vice-president of the Council for Culture and Socialist Education made concluding remarks. The session was chaired by Dumitru Radu Popescu, president of the Writers Union of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

/12232

C30: 2700/146

KUCAN SPEECH IN DRAZGOS ON YOUTH ARMY PROPOSAL

AU311655 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 87 pp 1, 6

[TANJUG report on the speech made by Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia, at the 11 January mass rally in Drazgos marking the 45th anniversary of the Battle of Drazgos]

[Excerpt] Drazgos, 11 Jan—We have become a developed, democratic, free, and socialist society which can accept debate about any public question that has significance for the society, Kucan said, warning that communists have no monopoly over the truth or over broaching social problems.

"Initiative can be taken by anyone who is ready to respect the principles upon which our self-managing democracy was built. Only this can lead us out of the crisis and ensure a quicker socialist development," Kucan said. This is why it is more than understandable that a monopoly over the truth and the right to debate will not be appropriated by anyone else. One cannot say regarding anyone's initiative that it is salutary or that it is unacceptable, or that it is contrary to the basic document of the state, to the ethical principles of the society, and the revolutionary achievements of our peoples and nationalities. In such a way, it is impossible to hold a debate about anything, and one cannot push forward any new idea, neither in the LC nor in society, Kucan went on to say. This is not a discussion, but assessments and labeling in which force and not reason wins.

Kucan dwelt in particular on the initiative on possibly introducing different military service in the Yugoslav People's Army for those people whom their religious beliefs forbid to carry arms, the initiative adopted by the Slovene Youth Congress.

"A part of the responsibility for the misunderstandings and confrontations that ensued is borne by individual members of the youth leadership who failed to announce what it is actually about in a sufficiently clear, substantial, and reasoned way and in time," Kucan pointed out. This is even less understandable since what is involved is a sociopolitical organization which is the legitimate advocate of the young generation's sociopolitical interests and which is responsible for bringing these interests to places where social decisions are made. However, a part of this responsibility is also borne by those who are not ready to accept a reasoned and qualified debate on the

question in respective social and professional organs. Only such a debate would put the problem in its right place.

Such a debate would enable one to seek solutions within our concept of all-people's defense, in conformity with its principles and in a way that would strengthen the defense ability of Yugoslavia and its Armed Forces. This ability is a guarantee for peace in this turbulent part of the world, the president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium said further. It is those very principles which make it possible for us to solve this problem in a more successful and humane way than it was solved in the world so far. For participation in all-people's defense is the right and obligation of each of our people. This is exactly why this concept recognizes various possibilities and enables people to realize their right and obligation to defend their homeland in different ways.

Milan Kucan then warned about the responsibility for preserving the socialist and self-managing essence of our society and its humanitarianism. Without this responsibility, there will soon be an end to the tolerance of different views and interests, pluralist expression of opinions, and creative search for their meaningful democratic synthesis.

"Democracy presupposes that champions of initiatives and proposals submit to the stands on those proposals which are adopted by the majority—that is the basic rule of democracy with which we still have to learn to live. This is why the situation now is as follows: What is decided about a question at the pertinent federal organs must apply to everybody. It is not only a problem of young people and Slovenes, but a social and Yugoslav problem, and this is why only a common stand about it is both necessary and possible," Milan Kucan pointed out.

According to him, the problem acquired too much weight and was unjustifiably included among those questions that break Yugoslavia apart.

"It certainly does not deserve such a place," Kucan said, "but it is obvious that it now serves some interests to direct part of social energy to this or that marginal problem in order that the leading social forces would stray into a dead end during such unproductive and forced debates and redirect their attention away from the correct, key problems and initiatives and leave the initiative to other forces and concepts. Those concepts are of all kinds, but not socialist and communist; that is now completely clear since they are publicized more and more openly and often without our reaction."

[Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 18 January on page 16 carries a 1,500-word letter by Milojica Pantelic, retired lieutenant-general of the Yugoslav People's Army, who takes Kucan to task for stating that no initiative should be rejected out of hand, that the communists have no monopoly over the truth, that the fault lies partly with the youth leaders' failure to explain the matter properly, that the initiative concerned conscientious objectors, and that some fault partly attaches to those who reject a discussion. Pantelic counters by quoting the Constitution on military service and the private nature of one's religious beliefs. He declares that the

initiative on military service would violate these provisions of the Constitution; that the communists must speak up clearly regarding "anybody's initiatives that are an act of misusing our self-managing socialist democracy"; that the initiative could not be explained properly because it "lacks any convincing arguments"; that conscientious objection is widely open to abuse; and that a "reactionary initiative" cannot be discussed "because we have better things to do than to indulge in an unproductive and unprincipled discussion."

[On 24 January on page 15, POLITIKA carries a 1,100-word letter by Milan Kucan replying to Pantelic. Kucan says that "The Comrade General probably knows that it is much easier to be convincing in one's 'arguments' if one passes over in silence those of 'the other.'" He refers Pantelic to a report on Kucan's speech carried in Ljubljana DELO and reminds him of Voltaire's saying, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."]

/9274

CSO: 2800/127

KOSOVO OFFICIAL ARIFI DISCUSSES SERB, ALBANIAN NATIONALISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 87 pp 24-27

[Interview with Ekrem Arifi, member of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, by Gojko Marinkovic: "Nationalism Is Fed by Nationalism"; date and place not given]

[Text] DANAS: Kosovo continues to be the topic of the day with the Yugoslav public, and valuations of the situation in this province of ours continue to range between the two poles. According to some the situation has not undergone essential change, while according to others there have been radical changes. What is actually the truth, and who does it serve to assert that everything is the same as it was in 1981?

Arifi: The truth is that the situation in Kosovo continues to be an everyday topic for the Yugoslav public. That is in fact normal when one bears in mind the problems and difficulties we face and the situation, which continues to be problematical. That interest and the constructive evaluations of the situation since 1981 have signified immense aid to the League of Communists in its struggle to stabilize the political-security situation and in the fight against Albanian nationalism and irredentism. However, in the recent past, especially at certain meetings, in lecture series, and conferences, and sometimes even in certain committees, above all in the discussions of individuals, we have encountered assertions which are opposite to those of the LC. Such individuals see nothing constructive in the change of the situation in Kosovo, and there are even those who say that now the situation is worse than it was in 1981. These assessments are unrealistic and unacceptable, and they are in essence tendentious.

It is our assessment that in Kosovo, thanks above all to the activities of the LC and the other subjective forces, significant results have been achieved in eliminating the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo in 1981.

Yet this does not mean that the achievement matches the effort that has been invested or what we all would like to have achieved.

Nor are we satisfied with what has been achieved in stabilizing the situation; our estimate is that we could have achieved still more. However, to fail to

see anything constructive in Kosovo since 1981 or even to say that the situation is the same as in 1981, is not only unrealistic, it represents political nihilism or at the very least "deliberate" unfamiliarity with Kosovo reality.

One does not need excessive political wisdom to guess who is served by such assessments and what they mean.

DANAS: It is constantly repeated that the irredenta have been driven into a mouse hole, but still we have been witnesses of more and more arrests and trials.

Arifi: It is true that the irredenta have been driven into a "mouse hole," that is, deep underground. Even today it is evident through writing, through the spread of slogans and pamphlets and other forms of activity, but in intensity these forms of the enemy's activity are far less than what they were. We in Kosovo, however, have never said that we have altogether managed to liquidate the irredenta.

The Albanian nationalists and irredenta, as ethnic and class enemies of socialist self-managed Yugoslavia, have managed to indoctrinate a segment of young people because of the absence of appropriate ideological-political and other activity against them before 1981.

Since 1981, thanks above all to the activity of the LC and the other subjective forces, most have become aware of the nature of the counterrevolutionary activity of the Albanian nationalists and irredenta. However, the most fanatic nationalists have still remained on the same nationalistic positions; there are quite a few of them.

The fortunate thing is that with every day the LC is managing more and more to turn away from counterrevolutionary activity those who have been deceived and were uninformed, those, as we put it, who were "seduced," above all young people.

DANAS: Kosovo is a real example of how nationalisms feed one another; if at one point it could have been said that the explosion of Albanian nationalism was in part a reaction to the effacement of Albanian ethnic identity, now it might be said that Serbian nationalism is strengthening and swelling on the fertile soil of Albanian nationalism.

Arifi: The assessment is not valid that the explosion of Albanian nationalism and irredentism occurred because the Albanian ethnic identity had been effaced. Assessments of the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary events have been furnished in the Political Platform of the LCY on Kosovo. Here I would like to emphasize that the Albanian nationality experienced its ethnic, general-social and general-human affirmation in Tito's socialist and self-managed Yugoslavia.

It is demonstrated even in the most recent events that one nationalism provides spiritual food for another. Other nationalists crop up as fighters against one nationalism, they emerge in the role of soul-savers, "fighters,"

and advocates in defense of their own nationality. That is now the case with Serbian nationalism. It is historical truth that one nationalism does stimulate others, but it has also been confirmed by history that nationalism, which is the most odious social consciousness emerges whenever a community encounters certain social, and especially economic, difficulties.

DANAS: There have been quite a few debates about whether the trip of the Serbs and Montenegrins to Belgrade is nationalism or not. Probably a majority of those people went to the Assembly out of necessity, out of their own misery, but it is quite certain that the nationalists or emissaries of the Bulatovic type also had their fingers in that.

Arifi: I would like to emphasize that we in the leadership of the Kosovo LC have never judged that all the Serbs and Montenegrins who made the trip to present their grievance in Belgrade are nationalists. But the reason we did not say that was that a large number of people were involved. That is not the most important thing anyway, since it is well known that in cases of political euphoria the malicious organizers of such activity can also seduce and carry along a sizable number of honest people. The truth is that most made the trip because of specific problems. The justified dissatisfaction of individuals with the slow resolution of certain problems with utilities and the infrastructure, accompanied by the bureaucratic behavior of individuals in government agencies, with the inefficiency of the judicial bodies and administrative agencies, has been taken advantage of by certain "emissaries" and destructive forces, which have attempted to channel the dissatisfaction against the political system, bodies of leadership and the entire Albanian nationality. There are no dilemmas, in all of this there is a tie-up between Serbian nationalists and the bourgeois right and with various nationalistic forces which have been operating in Kosovo and against Kosovo.

In all of this a special role has been played by the so-called "emissaries," who are a conscious or unwitting tool in the hands of various destructive and nationalistic forces. These "emissaries" appear wherever there has been an excess of any kind. By and large the same people participate in all the meetings, presenting the well-known unacceptable arguments contained in the "petition" about the lack of a future and lack of hope in Kosovo. They attack our socialist system, the leadership of Kosovo, of Serbia, and of the Federation, they seek restoration of the relations that prevailed before 1966, they attack the entire Albanian nationality. It is well known on whose ideological-political positions this is based--this is also outright nationalism. When I mentioned the "petition," I meant to emphasize that the part taken from the "memorandum" of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which treats the problems of Kosovo, does not differ in essence from the well-known "petition."

DANAS: There have been proposals made in public to the effect that the role of the provinces in the Federation should be diminished, and they even go so far as to say that they should not be mentioned in the definition of the Federation.

Arifi: The present arrangements in the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of SR Serbia, especially with respect to the place, role, and rights of the

provinces in the Federation and in the republic have been under attack in various public lectures, in the statements made by individuals, in petitions, and so on. There have also been arguments made to the effect that the problems in Kosovo would be resolved if not immediately, then far faster, if the republic had greater legal prerogatives.

The SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of SR Serbia make the socialist autonomous provinces components of SR Serbia and a constituent element of the Yugoslav Federation. That place, role, and the rights which they have are an expression of our federalism of SR Serbia as a government community whose makeup includes the two SAP's.

We cannot accept any sort of tendencies to narrow the rights and obligations of the provinces. For our part we will do everything that is in our power to see that the relations in SR Serbia are brought about in the full sense on the basis of the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System, the views of the LCY Central Committee, and the program of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

DANAS: Criticism is often made from Kosovo about what is written in a segment of the press; a particularly interesting case is that of Batus, when supposedly representatives of the province did not come for the opening of the Radioton Factory. This also raises the interesting issue of what it means to speak of an "ethnically pure" factory; is this not the most typical example of violating the constitutional right to work?

Arifi: It is our general assessment that the media have made an important contribution to exposing the essence of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and in stabilizing the political-security situation in the province. However, this general assessment does not apply individually to all the media, since instead of assistance, some of them have in their writing and editorial policy concerning events in Kosovo been detrimental to us in the efforts toward more rapid stabilization. That has been the behavior of certain popular magazines, and recently even of certain daily newspapers, which have taken the liberty of setting themselves above the lawful authorities in Kosovo and have been making their own assessments, which are set against the assessments of provincial bodies, defining what the highest provincial officials ought to do in a particular meeting, and so on, and so forth.

As for the case in Batus, an official communication has been released by the Coordinating Committee of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the SAWP for Nurturing Revolutionary Traditions and for Celebrations. I think in this connection that in the constellation of present human relations and forces in Yugoslavia, and in Kosovo especially, the construction of "pure ethnic" factories is an act without precedent in Kosovo or elsewhere, and at the same time constitutes a violation of the constitutional right to work. Where would it lead to build such factories in our society?

In both principle and in the particular case we are opposed to ethnically pure communities, including economic facilities. Incidentally, we in the province have consciously committed ourselves to doing far more than up to now in

building projects in communities which have Serbian, Montenegrin, and Croatian inhabitants so that in that way we would discourage and halt the exodus. We have built such projects in the opstinas of Titova Mitrovica, Leposavic, Urosevac, Prizren, Lipljan, Vitina, and so on, but both Albanians and Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, Croats, and others are working in them together, by contrast with Batus, where of the 140 Albanians who applied in the public competition not a single one was accepted or even called in for an interview.

DANAS: The exodus continues to be the open sore of the Kosovo situation. Has it been reduced or is it perhaps continuing at the same rate, as indicated by various figures which have been made public?

Arifi: The exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is still one of the most difficult Kosovo problems. It is in fact a burden on relations even more broadly--in SR Serbia and in the country as a whole. Our assessments of the causes of the exodus are well known.

We have taken a number of steps to halt the exodus, to create the conditions for halting the exodus. Additional measures have also been adopted in the Kosovo Assembly and in opstinas. Our commitment is that the efforts to halt the exodus should be the concern of every person and of all organizations and agencies. Significant, although initial, results have also been achieved concerning the return of those who have moved away. So far about 3,000 individuals have returned to Kosovo; we have another 2,000 applications for return. We have also worked out programs for their return. In spite of all the efforts, the number of persons who have moved away is still rather high. The exodus is rather pronounced, especially in the large opstinas such as Pristina, Titova Mitrovica, and so on.

More rapid socioeconomic development, above all construction of manufacturing and other facilities, more rapid solution of the very pronounced problem of unemployment, and specific activity to create a climate of mutual trust, brotherhood, unity and community, and equality among our nationalities and ethnic minorities, and the further development of socialist self-management will also contribute greatly to halting the exodus, in addition to the fight to frustrate the activity of Albanian nationalists and irredentists.

DANAS: To what extent is an attempt still actually being made to accuse the Albanian section of the leadership of actually being irredentist, to call out the names of the proven fighters against nationalism, and to what extent are the Serbian and Montenegrin officials being called traitors to the "Serbian cause"?

Arifi: Various destructive and nationalistic forces are continuing their attempt to identify the entire Albanian nationality with the bearers of hostile ideology from the position of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. This intrigue is aimed above all at Kosovo's personnel and leadership from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, which is attacked for being irredentist, for acting in collusion with the irredentists, for allegedly not being motivated to deal with Albanian nationalism and irredentism once and for all. Various public speeches, round-table discussions, and sometimes even political forums have

been used to issue blanket and unacceptable assessments concerning a number of the most distinguished personnel of Albanian nationality, who in their action before and after the counterrevolutionary events have unambiguously proven their commitments and have been in the front ranks of the fight against Albanian nationalism and irredentism. All of this is creating an anti-Albanian mood and distrust of the Albanian nationality. A persistent effort is being made to spread nationalistic passions.

Attacks on the most distinguished fighters against Albanian nationalism and irredentism are aimed at shaping public opinion to the effect that it is not possible to have confidence in Albanians and that they are an uncertain element in Yugoslavia.

At the same time the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists are attacking personnel from the ranks of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities as traitors to the interests of the Serbian people, as the long arm of the irredenta, as "figureheads" and people acting in collusion with the irredenta. The purpose of this is to frustrate their activity and cast doubt on their activity, which incidentally is consistent with principle and along the line of the policy and program of the League of Communists.

All of this has also been accompanied by the activity of the Albanian nationalists and irredenta and by their attacks on the most distinguished fighters from among the ranks of the Albanian nationality as well as against Serbs and Montenegrins in the leadership who have distinguished themselves in the fight against the counterrevolutionary activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and also against Serb and Montenegrin nationalism.

DANAS: It is said of the economic situation in Kosovo that there will be a turn for the better this year, but the results speak otherwise. How is this to be related to the demand for consolidation of the economy and the banks which the more advanced are supposed to carry out?

Arifi: Encouraged by the overall results in socioeconomic development last year, this year we counted on continuing that positive trend. However, because of the very pronounced problems in the conduct of economic activity throughout the country and objective difficulties, but above all because of subjective shortcomings, the economy of Kosovo cannot even come close to fulfilling the planning projections.

Over the first 11 months the volume of industrial output recorded a growth of only 1.1 percent over the same period of last year. Other planned parameters are not being attained either. Exports, for example, are 36 percent short of what was planned. Income and net income have been recording negative parameters, and the economy's debt and the liquidity of the banks are on the lowest rung in the country.

The LCY Central Committee, which judged the situation in the economy and the banks to be very serious, adopted a policy position back in 1983 concerning the need for consolidation of the economy and banks in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo. This policy position led to demand which those republics and

Kosovo sent to the Federal Executive Council. It is our judgment that consolidation of the economy and the banks is more than necessary, since this is a precondition for overcoming more rapidly the very pronounced problems in these three sociopolitical communities and for restoring to health the economy of the country as a whole, since it is impossible to demand and to accomplish emergence from the present very adverse situation in the country and to take specific steps to consolidate the economy and banks in these three sociopolitical communities.

It is our assessment that the proposal of the Federal Executive Council for consolidation of the economy and the banks in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo did take into account the present situation in the republics and Vojvodina and that this represents the optimum proposal for consolidation of the economy and the banks, but, to tell the truth, it has to be said that the proposal did not include all the demands of those sociopolitical communities.

DANAS: How much truth is there in the statement (and ultimately what are the numbers) that every case of rape or beating is politicized, although there are more occurrences of that kind in the other parts of the country than in Kosovo?

Arifi: We do encounter cases of rape or attempted rape against members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities. Usually the perpetrators of these shameful acts are young people--still under age or on the verge of maturity. It is possible that the hand of the enemy is concealed behind such crimes, but we do not have figures on that. However, because of the overall situation in Kosovo, the pronounced problems in the political-security situation, the activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and Serbian nationalism, and the chilly interethnic relations, attempts are made to politicize every case of rape or attempted rape, which by its nature is a most heinous act, one to which the people of this region are particularly sensitive.

The figures on such crimes clearly show that Kosovo is not typified by such crimes; on the contrary, it is somewhere in last place with respect to the number of such crimes in the country. Since 1982 240 cases of rape have been recorded in Kosovo; in 31 of them the victim was Serbian, in 180 both the victim and perpetrator were Albanians, 24 cases involved Serbs and Montenegrins, in 3 cases the victim was Albanian, and the other cases involved members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities.

DANAS: What is the position of the leadership concerning the use of the flag of the Albanian nationality? Does it think that it ought to be different from the present one, which is actually identical to the flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania?

Arifi: The position of the Kosovo leadership is identical to the positions of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee concerning the display and appearance of the flag of the nationalities, and accordingly the flag of the Albanian nationality, on which a position has been taken by the presidiums of all the sociopolitical organizations and bodies of the province.

In the public discussion of this issue which was organized by the Kosovo SAWP in local SAWP organizations and local communities, support was given to the position of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY.

7045

CSO: 2800/99

KOSOVO POLICY SINCE 1946 CRITICIZED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 86 p 4

[Letter to editor by Dragisa Pajevic, Pozarevac: "Irresponsible Decree in 1946"]

[Text] In early November, as we know, a group of approximately 200 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo came to Yugoslavia's Assembly building to describe to federal and republic-level officials the misfortunes inflicted upon them for years by Albanian fascist Ballists [wartime movement], chauvinists, and separatists.

One of the speakers at the gathering, the economist Bratimir Toskovic, said among other things: "The First injustice was done to Serbs and Montenegrins as early as 1946, when a decree of Yugoslavia's Assembly forbade persons to return to the province if they had fled the fascist terror in 1942."

This statement, which was reported on television, was a shock to the Yugoslav public, which had been unaware of this fact. How could such an irresponsible decision, with unforeseeable consequences that are now disturbing not only Kosovo but Yugoslavia as a whole, have been made?

I profoundly believe that this statement about the 1946 decree is entirely correct, since no federal or republic-level official has refuted it. What was said in the Assembly could be a topic for a longer, documented article in your publication.

/12232

CSO: 2800/132

ARCHBISHOP SUSTAR INTERVIEW IN BORBA

AU051249 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 87 p 5

[Interview given by Dr Alojzij Sustar, Catholic archbishop of Ljubljana, to Jovan Pjevic--place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Following boxed introductory note in bold print, signed without amplification by initials "B.a."] In addition to the interest exhibited by the Yugoslav public--BORBA dealt with its political aspect in a number of articles--the Christmas greetings conveyed to the faithful through public information media drew attention to a "chief actors" in all this, Dr Alojzij Sustar, archbishop of Ljubljana and metropolitan of Slovenia. Even before the greetings conveyed by Archbishop Sustar on Christmas Eve over Radio Ljubljana, which was repeated the next day over Ljubljana Television, Jozе Smole, first man in the SAMP of Slovenia, explained in a special statement for our newspaper the "motives" of Sustar's greetings--at that time still only hypothetical--and pointed out that the archbishop's proven views and positive stance toward self-managing socialism were compatibly related to his voice and message being carried by mass communications media.

Basically, this was the professional reason for BORBA's asking Dr Alojzij Sustar to present and explain, since he was undoubtedly the most prominent person in the media connected with the Christmas messages, his views on relations between the faithful and society, church and state, and in general his position on a number of questions provoked by his Christmas greeting over the radio.

Giving space to Doctor Sustar's views, we have in mind two essential points. The first is that sectarianism toward the faithful will disappear with growing certainty, and that "who is not against us..." will be increasingly the main direction of overall relations in society, in proportion to the disappearance of an intolerance--still very much present in the bosom of the church, and especially in the ranks of its hierarchy--toward socialism and self-management both as an idea and as a process with all those difficulties and distortions that may deserve even criticism and rejection. The second: giving him space this time, we are aware that all the thoughts of Doctor Sustar certainly will not meet with approval by everyone; on the contrary, some ideas will certainly provoke different reactions and even a lack of understanding, perhaps to the

same degree that some social occurrences are rendered into critical problems in his views of them. [end of introductory note]

[Pjevic] Mr Archbishop, how do you assess the fact that you were enabled to address the faithful and the public over Radio-Television Ljubljana at Christmas?

[Sustar] I am glad I had the opportunity to briefly address Christmas greetings over Ljubljana radio to all Slovenes, the faithful and those holding different beliefs, those at home and those who have immigrated from other regions. As long as 2 years ago I expressed this wish to Radio-Television Ljubljana, but my request was turned down at that time. On the basis of a public opinion poll on Christmas celebrations and on the basis of a petition by the Slovene Regional Bishops' Conference that Christmas should be a holiday, Christmas was a subject of much discussion in Slovenia in 1986. Circumstances therefore changed greatly. I see the fact that my request was granted and that I was able to broadcast my Christmas greetings as a step forward in mutual respect and understanding and in the common life of the faithful and those who think otherwise in Slovenia. Undoubtedly this also provides evidence of improving relations between the church and self-managing socialist society. In this respect, the greetings certainly have a specific significance.

No Full Equality

However, when one bears in mind how many believers there are in Slovenia, and that radio and television are public information media for all citizens, when one knows the sort of people who are allowed to broadcast, and that everybody pays an equal subscription and therefore citizens have the right to have programs consider their wishes, then a 3-minute greetings over the radio (television carried only a still picture and a short summary) remains a rather modest performance. Anyhow, the mystery (the charm) of every beginning is precisely in its emergence as a small thing.

[Pjevic] Some individuals from the ranks of the Catholic Church and others assert that religious people are not fully equal with other citizens, or rather that they are "second class citizens." What do you think of that?

[Sustar] In principle there should be no second class. This has been stressed several times, and again recently. However, when one assesses the actual situation, one prefers to one's experience, facts, findings, and information. Personally I possess some specific information in which it appears that in some fields the faithful, as well as others who do not quite match the line of official ideology, are not completely equal with other citizens. Their religious beliefs, or different beliefs, present a hindrance to various jobs and to promotions. These matters are generally known and there is no sense in denying them or trying to hide them by declarations of principle.

[Pjevic] How do you assess the development of relations between religious communities and the self-managing socialist society in Yugoslavia, and especially in Slovenia?

[Sustar] As has been said several times, and as it particularly applies to Slovenia, relations between religious communities and the self-managing socialist society are improving. We noted this almost unanimously on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the signing of the protocol between the Vatican and the SFRY. However, it is almost always remarked that open and unresolved questions still exist and that they should be solved in a direct and factual dialogue. There are indeed quite a number of such questions, but they are not specific for Slovenia. We have succeeded in solving some of them more or less satisfactorily, or we are endeavoring to do so now. I shall list only some of them. To start with Christmas, we persist in our endeavors to make Christmas a non-working day. This is all we ask, and we do not ask for a religious holiday to be proclaimed in a state legal sense.

Further, the question of religious services for people in old people's homes, hospitals, and prisons. In this respect, the situation in the homes and hospitals in Slovenia has improved considerably, but strange and unacceptable opposition and obstacles are still present in some places. No progress has been yet as regards prisons. One of the most difficult problems is the question of schools and education. Religion and the church are often presented in a onesided way. Therefore children and young people from religious families are often subjected to great internal conflicts. I know that responsible people in the socialist self-managing society often stress that schools are not directed against religion and that individual cases are exceptions. However, there is still a great difference between theory and practice.

Solutions Through Dialogue

[Pjevic] There has been much talk recently about whether soldiers should be allowed to receive religious papers, carry religious signs, visit churches, and show that they are religious. There are great differences in this respect from place to place. Anyhow, this question has never been solved in a principled and really satisfactory way.

[Sustar] The participation of the faithful in public information media, their presence on radio and television, and religious broadcasts along with full consideration for those who think differently, keep coming up for discussion. The church in Slovenia is prohibited from organizing charitable activities, but in the SR of Croatia, for instance, this is solved in a different way.

I will mention two further questions that cannot be simply prescribed by regulation but can be solved in a satisfactory way only in frank discussion and through a change in public opinion. The first is the historical truth about the role of the church in the national liberation struggle. Secondly, a certain fear is present among people because of moral pressure, and many times also social pressure on them and their consciences, if it does not go so far as threats of administrative measures. I am pleased to admit that the situation in Slovenia has to a great extent changed for the better in comparison with earlier times.

[Pjevic] How do you regard and assess the activities of the faithful in the SAWP, in other sociopolitical organizations, and delegate assemblies?

[Sustar] Personally I give no instructions to the faithful in Slovenia about how they should participate or not participate in the SAWP and other socio-political organizations and delegate assemblies. Let them decide according to their conscience and wisdom and let them judge by themselves what is possible and useful.

[Pjevic] How are relations developing between the Catholic Church and other churches in Yugoslavia and especially in the SR of Slovenia?

[Sustar] I cannot judge about relations in all of Yugoslavia, because I do not know history and the present situation well enough. It is characteristic for Slovenia that the Catholic Church is by far the strongest among the religious communities and that other Christian churches and various religious communities are in the minority. Precisely for this reason we in the Catholic Church are aware that we must show understanding toward other churches and religious communities and offer them friendly help, so that they can operate without hindrance. I dare say that relations between the Catholic Church and other Christians, whether the Orthodox, the Protestants, or the Islamic religious community, are very good.

Since one of the chief protagonists of the ecumenical movement in Slovenia, Dr Franc Perko, professor at the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana, has recently been appointed archbishop and metropolitan of Belgrade, I hope that this will contribute to even better cooperation between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

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ZARKOVIC, POZDERAC, BILANDZIC ARGUE IN SARAJEVO

AU102214 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 87 p 6

[S. Vasiljevic report: "Denunciation of Political Bureaucracy"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 28 Jan--During "Kardelj's Days" 2 years ago, we discussed social property and concluded that many distortions exist, Momir Cercez recalled. He was the first to speak in the discussion today at a 2-day scientific gathering in Sarajevo on the subject: "Economic and Social Processes in Yugoslav Self-Managing Society."

Vidoje Zarkovic advocated integration processes as an inseparable part of the overall efforts in building the self-managing socialist society. He assessed, however, that the increasingly numerous discussions approach the problems of the integration processes in a one-sided way. According to him, one must keep in mind five groups of questions: a joint determination of an economically rational distribution of the overall quantity of social work (ukupan fond drustvenog rada), an economic and technological unity of large infrastructure systems, a joint strategy for the technological development of the economy, the strategy of its inclusion in the international division of labor, and finally, a joint determination of equal conditions for business operations.

Princes Do Not Rule

At the gathering today, special attention was paid to the polemics started by Dusan Bilandzic. Proceeding from Vidoje Zarkovic's speech, Bilandzic said to him, "as well as to myself and to those who in the past 10 or 15 years managed this society," that in analyzing the causes of our social crisis, "we created a fog, a smokescreen, with the help of ideology and politics, and we cannot get to the core of the matter, to the causes of our crisis." Stressing that he does not think that Comrade Zarkovic was creating a fog in this sense, Bilandzic said that no one of the leading people will self-critically admit some evident facts which are clear to the people.

Hamdija Pozderac was the first to react to this opinion. According to him, Bilandzic forgot that this leadership, beginning with the mid-seventies, entered into the development trends of the political system and presented to the congress the Critical Analysis of the Political System and a public

discussion of this analysis. The same leadership also decided for a public discussion before the 13th LCY Central Committee session [12 June 1984].

Dusko, come to the rostrum and tell us what other party in the world had that much courage and power to enter a public discussion on the criticism of its own work and then listen to the discussion right to the end?—Pozderac called to Bilandzic.

I remind Comrade Bilandzic that in a speech I made on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium I, let us say, I too, used the same words which he spoke earlier. I said that we were wrong not to react in time to what was happening in the world market. I said that we were to blame for uncontrolled loan raising and for not starting in time initiatives for faster changes in the economic system--replied Vidoje Zarkovic and stressed that it would not be realistic to place the whole responsibility for what happened only on the leadership. This would be a simplified way of looking at the essence of the crisis. If the leaders in our political system were princes, then Comrade Bilandzic would really be right in saying that only the leaders should bear the responsibility because as princes they could have tackled many things in a princely way. But, fortunately for this society, continued Zarkovic, self-management has persisted to the extent that there is less and less room for princely behavior, anybody's princely behavior.

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SLOVENE CC, MLADINA VIEW EDUCATIONAL REFORM

AU071620 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Jan 87 p 11

[J. Pjevic, Zoran Medved report on the session of the LC Central Committee of Slovenia held in Ljubljana on 23 January]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 23 Jan--Thanks to the polemical, but also democratic and reasoned debate which lasted several months, documented in the introductory speech by Executive Secretary Jozse Miklavc, and the critical assessments and constructive suggestions by several participants at the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, the disunity shown in the ranks of communists which decreased the efficacy of the entire social activity on reforming training and education and producing results not in conformity with expectations and social needs, has been overcome.

The stand was adopted that mechanical adaptation to the given material basis and given socioeconomic relations, the separation of training and education from other components of social reproduction as its material and ideological basis is not and cannot be the way to affirm knowledge, training, and education as high quality development elements. It is the Central Committee's categorical stand that the only correct road is the one connecting training and education and basing their development on those parts of associated labor which are most advanced in the sense of development.

According to Jozse Miklavc and most of the participants in the debate, the development of the training-educational system in accordance with those criteria is feasible, which is confirmed by research, but this requires the removal of existing weaknesses in present programs, development of the methodology and organization of teaching, improvement of relations in schools, and a far better trained and more engaged pedagogical cadres. It is also necessary to ensure an appropriate material basis.

MLADINA's "Greetings" to the Plenum

The MLADINA periodical (whose publisher and founder is the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation) has "greeted" the today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee by a special supplement under the joint title "RRR (Reformers Reforming Reforms) Is a Paper Tiger?" All its articles (except an interview

with Joze Miklavc, Slovene LC Central Committee executive secretary for schools) claim that the reform carried out so far was a great mistake with far-reaching negative consequences and deny any value to the draft conclusions that were prepared for the session today. Among other things, the introduction says the following: "With the appearance of the RRR period, the structure and functioning of power remained unchanged. As the best solution, one offers the barren real-socialist development of consciousness which should have a decisive influence on the success of the reform. Although this supplement talks about the problems of reform, the tests should not be read as a plan to solve the dilemmas of the profession-oriented schooling. If you still want this, you should rather think about the initiative of the University Committee of the Socialist Youth Federation of Ljubljana on abolishing the subject of all-people's defense and social self-protection at the university."

In a review of the draft conclusions entitled "Intellectual Impotence and Political Rigidity" we can read the following: "...It lacks intellectual power and political flexibility.... The draft conclusions even hamper a positive development through their contradictions, compromises, and phrases. The text is perhaps a nice achievement for an internal party debate, but it is superfluous and even dangerous that the LC burdens the entire society with its internal ideological problems."

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CHAUVINIST, MONARCHIST GRAFFITI ASSAILED

[Editorial Report] A speaker at a session of the Belgrade SWAPY affiliate's information section, reported in Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 30 January 1987, page 5, attempts to link the much-criticized "draft memorandum" of the Serbian Academy of Sciences on Serbian history with recent disturbing graffiti. According to Nebojsa Dragosavac, new graffiti came to light almost every morning, and their "anachronistic terminology" fits into the strategy of the new ideologists of "bourgeois restoration" and chauvinism. Graffiti call upon Serbs to "rally round," accompanied by ethnic symbols and swastikas, the latter evidently as background to the slogan, "For every Serb brother, a hundred Croats" [rhyming original]. The graffiti include "Death to the communists," expressions of devotion to Draza [Mihailovic] as the "king of the fatherland," and praise of Djilas, all subsumed in the couplet "Oh Serbia, mother dear, you will be a kingdom once again" [rhyming original]. Dragosavac does not wish to raise the alarm on this point, but he refused to believe that all these graffiti can be ascribed to "mentally unstable, drunken, or eccentric individuals."

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'MOONLIGHTING' AS WAY OF LIFE

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jan 87 p 10

[Article by nw.: "Without Moonlighting, Nothing at All Would Run"]

[Text] The treatment of moonlighting is one of the most pronounced contradictions between theory and practice in the centrally planned economy. This can be illuminated with the example of Czechoslovakia. Officially, moonlighting is forbidden as unsocialist and illegal enrichment and is punished by state authorities. Occasionally, even a craftsman is sentenced to a fine. But those are the exceptions which prove the rule that, officially, moonlighting is counted upon as a contribution to the "building of socialism."

The most extreme case is the construction industry. Of the roughly 100,000 apartments annually planned and built, one-third is built as "individual construction." The builder-owner works independently with "help from neighbors." In the experience of the construction ministry, more than half of the necessary construction work is done by the moonlighting of "strangers." In other words: about one-sixth of apartments newly constructed each year (they are mostly single family homes or duplexes), which are reported in fulfillment of the economic plan, have been built for 20 years by moonlighting.

Only thanks to moonlighting do privately-owned family homes look much better preserved than those owned by communities or the state since here, too, repair needs are not better covered. Their administrations are largely without the help of moonlighting, since they are not allowed to spend money for it. These organizations, probably even more so than private owners, would welcome it if the state would permit small private trade, because then they would be much better served than at present.

Since the state is incapable of changing the situation on the supply side, it accepts de facto moonlighting as one of the sources of economic growth. Yet in this solution, there are considerable disadvantages for all parties concerned. The state loses millions of koruny in taxes. Furthermore, a goodly part of the moonlighting is performed during normal working hours. Newspapers report that at construction sites up to one third of the laborers are absent who are registered as being present. It is estimated that actual working hours "for the firm" by craftsmen working outside their workshops amount to barely

70 percent of legal working hours. The best workers in particular are mostly "otherwise engaged." And then, there is also the "pocketing" of materials needed for moonlighting. State authorities try to take vigorous action, but are confronted by a wall of abettors or at least people in the know. Almost everyone is at times dependent on the help of moonlighters and the material pocketed for this purpose.

But those who make use of moonlighting are also among the losers of this hypocritical system. True, they get to enjoy the necessary services, but at great sacrifice. First of all, the search for a moonlighter is not easy in view of the overly great demand. And then there are the high "prices." In contrast with the West, where one hires a moonlighter because he is cheaper, exactly the opposite holds true over there. Payment for moonlighting is many times that of the official price.

The only ones truly happy that small private trade is not permitted are the moonlighters. They reap the profits of the supplier in a notable sellers' market without having to bear the costs and risks of an entrepreneur. It remains open whether that corresponds to the dogma of a planned economy.

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